1	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS
2	DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS
3	* * * * * * * * * * * * * *  UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *  * CRIMINAL ACTION
5	v. * No. 21-10200-RGS
6	ABHIJIT DAS, * a/k/a Beej Das *
7	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
8	
9	BEFORE THE HONORABLE RICHARD G. STEARNS UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE and a JURY
10	JURY TRIAL DAY 1 October 2, 2023
11	
12	APPEARANCES:
13 14	UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, (By AUSA Neil J. Gallagher, Jr., and AUSA Elysa Q. Wan) 1 Courthouse Way, Suite 9200, Boston, Massachusetts, 02210, on behalf of
15	the United States of America
16	WHITE & CASE, LLP, (By Michael Kendall, Esq., and
17	Abigail Mahoney, Esq.) 75 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts, 02109-1814, on behalf of the Defendant
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## PROCEEDINGS

THE CLERK: All rise for the jury.

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(Whereupon, the jury entered the courtroom.)

(Whereupon, the Court entered the courtroom.)

THE CLERK: Court is open. You may be seated.

THE COURT: Congratulations again, Jurors.

As promised, I have a few words by way of orientation for you before we begin the formal trial proceedings.

It is your duty as the jury to find the facts of the case from the evidence that will be presented during the trial. You, and you alone as the jurors, are the judges of the facts.

You will then have to apply to the facts you find the law as I will explain it to you. You must follow the law as I explain it whether you personally agree with the wisdom of the law or not.

The evidence from which you will find the facts will consist of principally the testimony of witnesses, but also documents and other things admitted as exhibits, and any facts over the course of the trial that the lawyers agree to or, as they would say, "stipulate" to.

Certain things are not evidence and should not be considered in reaching your verdict. Statements, arguments, and questions by lawyers are not evidence. They'll be helpful in setting the context for evidence, but they

themselves are not to be taken as points of evidence.

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Similarly, objections to questions are not evidence.

Lawyers have a duty to their clients to object when they
believe that evidence being offered is improper under the
rules of evidence. You should not be influenced by an
objection or by any assertion of fact a question objected to
might otherwise have contained. If I overrule an objection,
treat the witness' answer as you would any other.

If I permit the question; that is, if I overrule the objection, again, treat the witness's answer as you would any other.

Testimony that I exclude or instruct you to disregard is not evidence and must not be considered by you in reaching your verdict.

If I instruct you that an item of evidence is received for a limited purpose, you may only consider that evidence for the purpose I define for you.

Anything that you may see or hear outside the courtroom is not evidence, and must be disregarded. You must decide the case based solely only on the evidence presented here in open court.

Now, there are two kinds of evidence in a trial. There is "direct" evidence and then there is so-called "circumstantial" evidence. That's a term that I know you have all heard but may not have a ready definition for.

Direct evidence is direct proof of a fact, usually presented through the testimony of a person who claims to have been an eyewitness to an event or a participant in a conversation.

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When you evaluate direct evidence, your task is fairly straightforward: Do you believe that what the witness is telling you is true?

When you look at circumstantial evidence, the task is somewhat different. Circumstantial evidence is the proof of a chain of circumstances or set of facts from which you could infer or conclude that another fact is true even though you have no direct evidence of that fact.

To give a simple example, assume when Tim, the court clerk, arrived here this morning, he did not find me in my office, but he found my coat hanging in the closet, the work I had taken home over the weekend spread out on my desk, with a copy of this morning's newspaper and a cup of steaming coffee.

From these facts he could properly infer or conclude that even though he hadn't seen me I had already arrived for work and was simply somewhere else in the courthouse.

Despite what courtroom television drama likes to teach, the law draws no distinction between these two types of evidence. It doesn't consider one superior or inferior to the evidence. You may consider both direct and

circumstantial evidence in reaching your verdict, and you may give that evidence whatever weight you, as the jury, decide it deserves.

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Now, in speaking with jurors after trials, I've learned to answer several questions right at the beginning.

"Will we have transcripts of witness testimony available for use during our deliberation?"

The answer is no. Not because we wouldn't make it available to you if we had it. Mr. Gibbons is keeping a record of the trial, which will become a permanent record of everything that is said during the trial, but he's doing it in shorthand, which, if you weren't trained as a court reporter, you couldn't read. So it's going to be some weeks before we actually have the transcripts.

"Well, if we won't have witness transcripts, can we take notes?"

Well, a good example of circumstantial evidence. I think Tim gave you all a notebook and a pen, so of course you can.

You do not have to take notes if you do not want to.

The one thing I can promise you is that no one will ever look at the notes you keep unless you decide to share them with other jurors during deliberations.

At the conclusion of the trial, either take the notebook with you or, if you don't, Tim will shred it, and

any contents will be shred.

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I mention this phenomenon of "sidebars," where judges huddle with the lawyers at the side of the bench. I do not permit them. Your time is too valuable. There's no reason that we can't do all of our business here in open court, and that's the way I prefer it. So there's not going to be the distractions of sidebar conferences except twice during the case where I am required by law to meet with the attorneys. But I try to schedule those two events when you're on a break or before or after the trial, so again there's no disruption in the flow of the trial itself.

Judging the credibility of the witness, I think, is the most important task that you have. It is up to you to decide which witnesses to believe, which witnesses not to believe, and how much of any witness' testimony to accept or reject.

In performing this task, there's certain tests that you will apply, which are pretty commonsensical: The confidence that the witness shows on the witness stand; his or her seeming intelligence; whether the witness was contradicted by anything that he or she said before the trial; whether the witness appears to have a motive or bias for testifying in a certain way; and whether his or her testimony seems probable or improbable in light of all the other facts in the case.

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You may also consider the fact that someone may quite sincerely believe that something happened, or that they saw something, and just simply be mistaken as to what the truth actually was.

Because this is a criminal case, I explained the three rules that you must always keep in mind. The first is that the defendant is presumed innocent, and again that presumption lasts unless and until the government succeeds in proving his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

That burden, the burden of proof, is on the government throughout the trial. As I explained, the defendant has no burden in a criminal trial to prove anything.

And, third, the government must prove the defendant's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. That is a much higher standard than the "preponderance of the evidence" or the "more likely than not" standard that we apply in civil cases.

Again, at the conclusion of the trial, I will give you the best definition I can of what we mean by "proof beyond a reasonable doubt." But, as I said, I think most of us have a pretty good intuitive understanding of what the burden is.

The way the case proceeds is, first, by way of opening statements. Each side is permitted to give an opening statement by way of a forecast or preview of the evidence that they believe will be offered during the case that is

supported of their position with respect to the Indictment.

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These opening statements are not intended to be arguments. They're intended to be helpful to you, but the arguments you'll get to hear at the end of the case when the lawyers are free then to argue directly the inferences that they believe are supported by the evidence that is actually received during the trial.

Following these statements, we will begin with the witnesses in the case. We will hear the witnesses until each side has reached the end of their case, and at that point I will give you the instructions on the law. And my practice is to write out the instructions verbatim beforehand, so each of you will have a copy of the instructions which will both make it easier to follow along as I give them but also to consult in the jury room. So you can be confident that those will be with you in your deliberations.

Just a few words about your conduct as jurors.

First, I instruct you that you are not to discuss the case with each other or anyone else until we get to the deliberations at the end of the case. Now, don't make -- I don't want that to sound impossible. I know that you will be talking about the trial, since things will happen, and as normal human beings we're going to be conversing about what we see and what experience we're having.

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But what we mean by this instruction is don't offer any opinion about anything conclusive in the case until you have heard all the evidence and have had a chance to hear what your fellow jurors think.

Until that point, keep an open mind and try to keep your opinions, as you develop opinions as the case goes on, but try to keep those for the deliberations.

Do not read or listen to anything that may be reported in the media about the case during the course of the trial. If you do encounter a newspaper or radio or television account of the trial, just turn away. At the end of the case, we'll have time to go back and look if we think that you missed anything. But the fact is you're going to know a lot more about the case than any reporter trying to tell a story to the public.

Third, I ask, and this is important in this day and age, please do not do any independent research of your own about the facts of the case. In this age of Google, it's always very tempting to go and try to do your own independent research about the facts of things. I ask that you don't do that because we all have to decide the case based on what we all hear collectively here in the courtroom.

We do some things that -- we try to make jury service as easy as we can for you.

Each morning, as today, we'll take a 25-minute break, usually around a quarter of eleven. We will have refreshments for you then. Today we have lunch for you at 12:45.

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I know how difficult commuting is now in Boston, as I have to confront it every day as well. Public transportation is not as reliable as it used to be. The highways are pretty congested. So to make life easier, we will put out a light breakfast for you at eight o'clock each morning so don't have to stop or worry about getting something to eat on your way into the courtroom. We will have that here for you.

If you wish to, you're welcome to bring in a bottle of water -- we'll make them available upstairs -- into the jury box. But that's the only liquid permitted in the courtroom. Not my rule. It's the General Services Administration. They actually run the building, and they're very jealous of their carpets, so water is the only thing that they permit in the courtroom itself.

I do know over the next week or two you will get a chance to look at this building. It is a magnificent courthouse. I served for a number of years on what was called the Space and Facilities Committee, which was the committee that oversees all courthouse construction and renovation nationally. So I have seen lots of courthouses.

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And I'm not embarrassed to say -- in fact, I'm rather proud of the fact -- that this is, I think, the most beautiful and functional of the modern courthouses in the federal system.

It was opened in 1998 and dedicated in the memory of Congressman Joseph Moakley, who was the driving force -- he and Mayor Menino were the real driving force behind locating the courthouse here in what used to be an empty lot. There was almost nothing in this area. It's now hard to believe what has happened in the last 20 years with the development of the Seaport District.

Before this -- obviously this was not our first courthouse. In fact, this court is one of the oldest -- it's either the third or possibly the second -- but at least the third oldest court in the federal system. It dates back to 1789, the very beginning of the constitutional period of the U.S. Government.

The first courthouse was actually not a courthouse. It was actually located in a tavern called the "Bunch of Grapes," which was, I think as best I can tell, it's long gone, is where essentially Congress and State Street intersect in Boston itself.

Judge Lowell was the first judge. For a century there was only one judge in this court appointed federally. He thought that was somewhat undignified, for evident reasons, and moved the courthouse to Salem, Massachusetts.

Why Salem?

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Well, Salem at the time was the richest seaport in the world because almost everything imported into the United States from Europe or Asia came through Salem, Salem being a day closer to Europe than New York or Boston. Not the greatest harbor, but in terms of proximity it was the most convenient harbor to use.

The court sat there. Judge Lowell actually left after a year after moving the courthouse to Salem and was succeeded by Judge Dodge, and then for the next century we go back and forth between Lowells and Dodges basically heading the court, but again one judge sitting.

Judge Dodge left Salem in the beginning of the War of 1812 because he had been threatened with being kidnapped by the British and thought it was unsafe, so he came back to Boston temporarily, and the Boston courthouse, such as it was in those days, remained the locus of the court.

Why did they not go back to Salem? The very simple answer was the Erie Canal. The Erie Canal began construction in 1815. Once the Canal was opened, it was easier to ship goods to New York, and then you had canal service all the way to the Great Lakes.

So Salem basically had its day.

Nathaniel Hawthorne was still up there in the 1840s as a Customs inspector writing books, the Scarlet Letter, but

eventually Salem sort of faded from view.

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It was important though because the early United States government depended entirely on Customs fees for its income. It was 95 percent of all the income the government had. We were actually an admiralty court more than anything else. Most of the cases the early court heard involved shipping, admiralty, and Customs cases.

We were in Post Office Square, and then this courthouse was constructed.

Harry Cobb was the architect, one of I.M. Pei's partners. The Pei Partnership has put its mark around the world, but certainly on Boston: The Christian Science Center, the Kennedy Library, the Hancock Tower. Further afield, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, the East Wing of the National Gallery in Washington. If you've been to Paris, that ingenious glass pyramid outside the Louvre is an I.M. Pei work.

He did what I wish architects would do more often, is that he spent a year talking to judges, lawyers, people who use courthouses, and the public. What did you want? What did you want to see in a courthouse?

And the design he came up with I think is brilliant.

We have essentially three courthouse built into one. We have the public courthouse, which is the atrium and signature conoid glass wall, ten stories high, the largest

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ever successfully constructed in the world. They're usually unsuccessful because glass is a very heavy medium. It tends to collapse. But he came up with an ingenious trussing system that keeps it in place.

Behind us is a second courthouse which is accessible to only judges, law clerks, and jurors.

And behind there is a system where essentially prisoners are transported to and from courtrooms by the marshals. The idea is that there is no intersection. People do not cross paths except here in the courtroom itself.

The signature themes of the courthouse are a blend of Old New England.

The beehive brick entrance that you came through into the courtroom was actually copied from a courtroom in Wiscasset, Maine.

Cobb chose it for its old New England distinctiveness, but then discovered there was only one mason alive in America who still knew how to do that brickwork. As it happened, he was retired in Maine, was persuaded to come to Boston, and trained a whole group of apprentice masons in how to do this kind of work. So we got not only the benefit of the architectural feature but also kept this one particular craft alive.

The decorating around the courtroom, that's copied from

a courthouse in Vermont. Every courtroom has this same theme, just different colors.

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The benches are again copied after a Shaker style. I'm sorry they're so uncomfortable, but that was the Shaker style. It was, I think, to make you pay more attention by not getting too comfortable as observers in the courtroom.

And then, of course, there's the blend of the modern. You have the Old New England and the ultra modern New England on the other side facing Boston Harbor; a modest front looking at the old factory district in the Seaport, and then a soaring historic glass wall facing the harbor itself.

The other thing I will mention, and then I'll let the lawyers go on to do their work, is that there is a collection, and you saw it coming in, of Ellsworth Kelly installations. Ellsworth Kelly -- and these are the colored panels that you'll find in the rotunda and at the end of each of the courtroom floors, which is the third, fifth, and seventh floor.

Kelly died I think a year-and-a-half ago, Paris trained and the founder of what is called the hard-edged or minimalist school of art, which is essentially best known by its fascination of geographic shapes and a real passion for national color.

When these installations first appeared -- and the

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reason we have them in the courthouse is that in federal construction you're required to put a certain percentage of the budget into public art that is otherwise accessible to the public.

The Kelly artwork was chosen by Justice Breyer on the Supreme Court, who was very involved in this building, and Judge Woodlock, who was also one of the planners. He worked with Cobb in bringing the building together.

And I have to say -- this is perhaps more a reflection on me than anything -- when I first saw them, my first reaction was, This can't be art because I could do it. If I could do it, it can't be art.

Then I realized I couldn't have done it. If you had sent me out to buy art for this building, I would have come back with some insipid old paintings of ships that would catch your interest for about ten minutes; whereas, I find these Kellys, now that I understand them and I understand what he was trying to do by putting a sense of modernness color into the courthouse, I find them fascinating. But I will leave it for you to decide whether you think it's art or not. We can talk about it at the end of the trial.

I do want to mention one more thing because you will see it. At the bottom of the elevators there is big plaque with a thousand names on it. Those are the names of every workperson who built this building. And I will guarantee

you during the two weeks you're here you're going to see someone down there with their grandchildren and children going up and pointing out their name on the wall because they are very proud of the courthouse, as we are.

So that is, by way of introduction, what I wanted to tell you. The more important things now are going to be told to you by the lawyers.

We are going to begin with the opening statements. The government will go first, followed by Mr. Kendall for Mr. Das.

Mr. Gallagher or Ms. Wan?

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MS. WAN: I will, your Honor.

THE COURT: Very well, Ms. Wan, you may address the jurors.

OPENING STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT

MS. WAN: Good morning, everyone.

The defendant, Abhijit Das, or "Beej" Das, ran for U.S. Congress to represent Massachusetts' Third District, but instead of running an honest campaign, the defendant violated federal election laws for his own personal gain.

Now, the defendant told voters that he was a successful businessman. He owned a hotel in Tyngsborough,

Massachusetts called the Stonehedge Inn.

He owned another hotel in Brunswick, Maine, and a 108 foot megayacht that used to be docked right here in Boston

Harbor. He chartered that yacht for private clients.

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But you will learn that all of this was a facade. The defendant's businesses were underwater. He was behind on payments, and creditors threatened to turn off the lights or to foreclose on the properties. His accounts for his hotel and yacht were often overdrafted, and his hotel employees had a hard time getting paid.

His parents, who had the financial means to support him, often stepped in. They transferred tens of thousands of dollars into his accounts, his bank accounts, to cover yacht bills and hotel bills.

You will also learn that the defendant boasted that he was a constitutional lawyer. He had gone to the University of Michigan Law School, and after that he worked for a federal judge in Maryland.

But you will learn that instead of practicing the law, the defendant broke the law, and he did so in three principal ways.

First, he accepted excessive contributions, campaign contributions that were over \$100,000 over the federal limit. And he funneled that money through his parents' account to make it look like it was his own money.

Second, the defendant syphoned \$300,000 from his campaign to spend on his hotel and his yacht.

And, third, the defendant was not truthful in filings

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with the FEC, or Federal Elections Committee. He covered up the fact that he accepted those excessive contributions and stole campaign funds.

Now, the evidence of the defendant's guilt will come to you in various ways. You will hear testimony from the defendant's campaign staff, from his business associates, and also bank employees, as well as FBI investigators.

You will also get a chance to review documents such as emails, text messages, bank records. But right now let me summarize the evidence that you will hear about each of these three crimes, starting with excessive and conduit contributions.

You will learn that there are straightforward rules governing how much an individual can contribute to a congressional campaign. And the evidence will show that those limits are in place to prevent wealthy individuals from having an outside effect on our elections.

You'll learn that for the 2017 to 2018 election cycle an individual could contribute up to \$2,700 for a primary, and \$5,400 for the primary and general elections combined. This applies to donations. It applies to loans. It applies to anything of value that's given to a campaign to influence an election, or, in other words, to help the candidate win.

On the other hand, you will learn that there is no limit to the amount a candidate can loan or contribute to

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his own campaign. But those funds must be the candidate's personal funds. It can't be money from other sources disguised to look like the candidate's own money. That's cheating, and that's a crime. It's called "conduit contributions," and it means causing contributions to be submitted in the name of someone who is not the true donor.

The evidence will show that the defendant knew these rules, but he still solicited and accepted excessive contributions from three individuals who gave \$25,000, \$50,000, and \$50,000, each. And he hid the identity of those true donors to make it look like those funds came from his personal funds.

Those true donors were Toby Chaudhuri, Jay Shah, and Ajoy Bose.

Toby Chaudhuri was a childhood friend of the defendant's and a political consultant who worked on various campaigns and political administrations.

Jay Shah was a wealthy businessman and a business associate of the defendant. He owns a portfolio of hotels and is the CEO of a publicly traded company.

And Ajoy Bose, you will learn, was long-time family friend who lived in California.

Chaudhuri gave \$50,000. Jay Shah gave \$50,000, and Bose gave \$25,000, and the defendant hid the illegal nature of these donations by funneling the money through his

parents' bank account to make them look like it was his family's money.

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Now, to understand the conduct, let's go back to August of 2017. That's when the Congresswoman for Massachusetts' Third District announced her retirement. Soon, ten different candidates jumped into the election, including the defendant, who announced his candidacy in September of 2017.

He began to assemble a political team, including a team of political advisers. And although he was advised to hire a campaign finance manager and an election lawyer, he didn't. He said it was too expensive.

One of the first things his political consultants told the defendant was that he would need to raise a significant amount of money for a successful congressional run, and that first quarter of fundraising, which ended December 31, 2017, was particularly important. That's because in an election like this there wouldn't be a lot of polling, but every single candidate had to report their fundraising totals to the FEC, the Federal Elections Committee, and the public and the press would use those fundraising totals to measure a campaign's success, viability, and a candidate's popularity.

Without enough money, the defendant believed that if he did not reach his fundraising goals, his campaign would be doomed.

The defendant said it himself in an email to Ajoy Bose

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dated December 11, 2017, in which he asked for financial support. He wrote, "12-31 is the one and only test of financial viability that my campaign will likely face. If we meet our financial goals for this quarter, we will be considered the front runner and follow on contributions from further afield will flow."

The defendant's personal goal for the year-end quarter was \$450,000. That's how much he wanted to raise. But the evidence will show that the defendant was a poor fundraiser, partly because he did not prioritize the time-consuming and humbling task of calling potential donors and asking for contributions.

By mid December, with only two weeks left before that year-end deadline, he'd only raised about \$50,000. That's when he had a late-night conversation with his childhood friend and political adviser Toby Chaudhuri. He told him that the campaign needed more money; that he's getting significant sums of money from his parents, but it would not be enough to reach his end-of-the-year goals. So he asked Mr. Chaudhuri for a \$50,000 short-term loan.

Now, this is a critical moment because the evidence will show that the defendant knew that this was 18 times greater than the federal contribution limit. The defendant knew because he often talked about this maximum contribution limit with his political advisers. He talked about it with

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potential donors who he emailed and asked to make the maximum contribution, and you will get to see those emails.

The evidence will show that the defendant knew exactly what he was doing, and he knew it was wrong.

And Mr. Chaudhuri will tell you that he also knew it was wrong; that even though he knew it was wrong, he caved to the defendant's pressure and he gave him the money.

Now, you'll get to hear from Mr. Chaudhuri, and you'll learn that when he was first approached by FBI agents as part of this investigation, he was scared, he was ashamed, and he tried to lie his way out of it. He told them that he was never the defendant's political adviser, and when he was asked about the \$50,000 loan to the defendant, he said it had nothing to do with the campaign.

Mr. Chaudhuri later got a lawyer, who negotiated an agreement with the government, we call it an "immunity agreement," in which the government promised not to use Mr. Chaudhuri's words against him. And Mr. Chaudhuri is now testifying as part of that immunity agreement, in which he's required to provide truthful cooperation.

The defendant also asked for \$50,000 from Jay Shah.

This is the hotel executive. And you will see in this email dated December 17, 2017, that the defendant is telling

Mr. Shah that he's canceling a campaign fundraiser in New

York City. And then he asks for a phone call. He says,

"Toby and I are discussing what we need to do to get over that \$450,000 level by 12-31 even with some engineering."

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Now, the evidence will show that the "engineering" the defendant is talking about is engineering to get around the campaign contribution limits. And that engineering would include funneling the money through his parents' account and setting up a sham contract between Jay Shah and the defendant's mother that makes it look like it was a personal loan.

There was a third donor, Ajoy Bose, the family friend in California. And he was asked to give \$25,000 on top of the maximum contribution from him and his wife.

Now, the defendant referenced these three excessive contributions in a text message with Mr. Chaudhuri. This was sent right after Mr. Chaudhuri had told the defendant that he wired his \$50,000. And the defendant writes, "Thank you for doing it. I will aggregate and send as one batch. Total," quote/unquotes, "'self-fund' will be close to \$250,000."

Now the defendant's own words "self-fund" are important here for two different reasons. First, the defendant knew that legally there was no limit to the amount a candidate could contribute or donate to his campaign. There is no limit to the amount a candidate could self-fund.

Second, by putting quotation marks around the term

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"self-fund," the evidence shows that the defendant knew that this self-fund was in fact a fraud and not a self-fund at all.

So to aggregate these excessive contributions and make it look like he was self-funding his campaign, the defendant instructed each of these three donors to wire the money to his parents' account, not the defendant's own account, and certainly not the campaign accounts.

And you'll see that the evidence will make it clear that these are campaign contributions because these -- the purpose of these contributions was to support the campaign, to make it seem like the defendant had a high fundraising number, and to make it seem like the defendant was a viable congressional candidate.

First, you'll hear from Chaudhuri and Shah who will tell you that these were funds given to the campaign.

Next, you will see emails from his campaign, from his email account, to each of these three donors talking about the campaign. He's asking for money for the campaign. He's not asking for money for his hotel business. He's not asking for money for his yacht business.

And finally, the timing of each of these contributions will make it clear that these are campaign contributions.

You can see that each of these contributions all arrived in the parents' account within about a day of each other, on

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December 27 and 28, just days before that year-end deadline. A hundred twenty-five thousand dollars from these three donors. The parents took that money and added \$50,000 of their own money, and that same day transferred the money to a joint account held by the defendant and his mother.

Now, that very same day, still on December 28, the defendant and his mother's joint account transfers \$170,000 to the Das for Congress campaign account, and in this way the defendant engineered these excessive contributions by funneling the money through his parents' accounts to make it seem like this was his own personal funds.

Let me pause here for a second to talk about the \$50,000 that the defendant's parents added to these excessive contributions.

The evidence will show that the defendant's parents gave a significant amount of money that was used for the campaign, but the evidence will also show that that money from his parents was not enough to meet the defendant's fundraising goals. He needed this boost from these three donors and these three excessive contributions.

The evidence will also show that the defendant's engineered first-quarter fundraising was quite impressive. He proudly announced on January 16, 2018, that Beej Das raised \$425,000 in the first fundraising quarter. And you will learn that this put him third in a crowded field in the

primary election. And he'd actually raised more than the person who eventually won the campaign seat.

What people did not know was that a quarter of these funds came from illegal excessive contributions, and he could not have reached this goal without those excessive hidden contributions, which brings us to the second part of the defendant's illegal scheme, theft of campaign funds.

You will learn that political candidates cannot use campaign funds for their own personal use. But the defendant withdrew \$314,000 from his campaign funds to spend on his hotel and his yacht businesses.

In early 2018 the defendant's businesses were hemorrhaging cash, and they were in serious danger of going under.

Around that same time, tellers at Lowell Bank -Lowell Five Bank, noticed that the defendant was asking for
strange transactions, transactions that they thought didn't
make sense. He was asking them to take out large sums of
money as cash and then immediately deposit that cash into
his business account. So he would take out money from the
campaign and deposit it into his business account.

He made it clear that he didn't actually want any of the cash and he didn't want it to appear as a transfer. He told them time and time again, Make sure that these transactions are not linked. Make sure that these are separate transactions.

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And here's an example on March 26, 2018, where the defendant is taking out \$20,000 from his campaign account. And you'll see that about a minute later \$20,000 goes into his hotel account.

The defendant asked tellers to make sure that the withdrawal slips did not show any transfer information, and if he saw them writing the transfer information, he'd ask them to redo the withdrawal slips.

So the tellers starting writing the transfer information on the slips after the defendant left the bank, and they also reported the defendant's transaction to their compliance department.

Now, an FBI forensic accountant will tell you that almost all of the funds withdrawn from the campaign account went into the defendant's hotel and yacht business accounts. And from there the funds were spent on business expenses.

This is just one example, where the defendant withdrew \$35,000 from his campaign account and used that money to purchase a treasurer's check to the Town of Brunswick.

You'll learn that this check was used to pay off a tax lien for the Maine hotel that was so overdue that the Town of Brunswick threatened to foreclose on the property.

Other examples of his spending include paychecks to hotel employees, other tax payments, new parts for his

yacht, bills for drink and food vendors at the hotel restaurant, and electric and other utility bills, and insurance payments.

2.2

The defendant also instructed Sean Smith, who was the operations director for his hotel, to make similar withdrawals and deposits. And Mr. Smith will tell you that during one of the first transactions he asked the defendant, Is this okay? Is this aboveboard, that we're taking money from the campaign and using it for the hotel expenses?

And the defendant assured him that it was because he was just repaying money that the defendant had loaned to his campaign.

But the evidence will show that that was not true, that that was actually a cover story to hide the defendant's illegal scheme.

The defendant and Sean Smith withdrew money from the campaign account about two dozen times. Sometimes they took money out several times a week. And the total that they took out was \$314,000.

On the other hand, the defendant claimed that he had contributed or loaned his campaign about \$272,000. And you will see that part of that came from contributions from Das and his parents, and another part of that was those excessive contributions from those three individuals.

Well, the problem is you can't pay yourself back more

than you borrowed.

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So after he repaid his loans, the \$147,000 shown in blue, the defendant kept taking out money. He took out money covering those excessive contributions, even though Toby Chaudhuri will tell you that the money he gave to the defendant was for the campaign. It wasn't for the hotel. It wasn't for the yacht business. And in the end, the defendant was taking out money that he got in from individual contributors. People who'd given 20, 100, 200 dollars. And those people had no idea that their political contributions were going to pay for defendant's hotel and the defendant's yacht.

The defendant stopped making withdrawals after his campaign account was almost completely drained. With two months left before the primary election, he had less than \$5,000 left in campaign funds.

Which brings us to the third and last part of the defendant's illegal scheme; concealing material facts and making false statements in filings to the Federal Election Committee.

You will learn that campaign finance data must be reported on a quarterly basis to the FEC by every congressional candidate. This includes donations, who made the donations, how much they made, when they made them. It also includes any loans or repayments of the loans,

including loans from the candidate.

2.2

Candidates also have to report their expenses, how much they spent out of their campaign accounts, and "cash on hand," which means how much money they had available in their coffers.

The defendant caused the Das for Congress campaign to submit false reports that did not disclose that they had received \$125,000 in excessive contributions, and it also misstated the cash on hand for March and June of 2018.

This chart shows in orange exactly what the campaign reported to the FEC; whereas, the black line shows the actual balance of the campaign account. And you'll see that in March of 2018 the campaign reported 398,000 in cash on hand; whereas, the campaign balance was only 107,000.

In June the campaign reported 439,000; whereas, the truth was the campaign had less than \$5,000 in their campaign account.

Now, the first two FEC reports were submitted by Eric Chast, the defendant's fundraising director. And you'll hear from Mr. Chast that he repeatedly asked the defendant for access to the bank accounts so he could fill out the forms. But the defendant never provided any bank account access or any statements.

Instead, Chast input information provided by the defendant. The defendant provided a list of checks and a

list of the campaign expenses.

The defendant did not tell Mr. Chast about the \$125,000 he took from those three donors, and the defendant did not tell Mr. Chast that he took out funds for his hotel and yacht business.

The defendant hid these facts for one simple reason; because he knew he was committing a crime. Here's an email from the defendant to Eric Chast that shows the limited amount of information he provided. You'll note that this email was sent at around 2:44 a.m. the day before the FEC filings were due.

The defendant writes, "Eric, the following were cash loans from Abhijit Das," himself, "to Beej Das for Congress in December. And he lists out three different loans.

For the first and the last loan, you'll learn that that was money that came from the defendant and his parents, but that loan in the middle, the 12/28/2017 loan for \$1700, that was the loan that included those excessive contributions from those three individuals, from Chaudhuri, Bose, and Shah. And here the defendant is misleading Eric Chast about the source of those funds because he says that that loan came from himself, Abhijit Das.

Now, you'll learn that Chast relied on this information from the defendant to calculate -- to fill out the FEC forms and to calculate the cash on hand. And Chast also asked the

defendant to review the reports before they were submitted.

All of the FEC reports were signed by the campaign treasurer, Sean Smith.

Now, you'll remember Sean Smith. He's the director of operations for the defendant's hotels. And he'll tell you that he was the campaign treasurer on paper only. In reality, he had nothing to do with the campaign. He did not access the campaign bank account. He did not review the FEC filings before they were filed. In fact, for the September 2018 report, the defendant told Mr. Smith that it was paperwork to wind down the campaign. And he slid the paperwork across the desk, and Mr. Smith signed the paperwork without looking to see what it was because he trusted the defendant.

Now, neither Chast nor Smith knew that the FEC reports were false. But the evidence will show that the defendant knew because the defendant was the one who accepted those executive contributions. The defendant was the one who syphoned money from his campaign account into his businesses, and the defendant was the one who was asked to review the FEC reports before they were filed.

The truth is, if the defendant had -- the truth is the defendant had to mislead the FEC. Because if he was truthful about the campaign's contributions, he would have had to disclose those excessive contributions. And if he

was truthful about the campaign spending, he would have had to disclose that he used campaign funds for hotel and yacht expenses.

The defendant was untruthful to the FEC because the truth was he engineered conduit excessive contributions, and he stole campaign funds.

And the evidence will show that the defendant knew what he was doing. He knew it was unlawful. And he did it anyway, and then he tried to hide the fact that he had done it.

And for that reason, at the end of the case, after you hear all the testimony, review the records and apply your good, common sense, we will ask you to return the only verdict supported by the evidence, and that's a verdict of "guilty" on all counts.

Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you, Ms. Wan.

Mr. Kendall or Ms. Mahoney?

MR. KENDALL: Thank you, your Honor.

MR. GALLAGHER: Your Honor, may I have a second

with Mr. Kendall before he begins?

THE COURT: Sure.

(Counsel conferred.)

MR. GALLAGHER: Your Honor, we have two objections to two exhibits. Can I hand them up to the Court?

1 THE COURT: All right. 2 MR. GALLAGHER: On hearsay and relevance grounds. MR. KENDALL: Your Honor, one of them is about four 3 I'm only using a paragraph. It might be helpful if 4 5 I point it out. 6 THE COURT: The opening paragraph? 7 MR. KENDALL: No. It's in the middle of it. "promise, rewards and inducements," that I want to recite. 8 9 (Pause in proceedings.) 10 THE COURT: Fair enough. You can use it. 11 MR. KENDALL: Excuse me? 12 THE COURT: The objection's overruled. 13 MR. KENDALL: Your Honor, the timeline's not much. It may not be in your view, but I think this is the best 14 15 spot for it. 16 THE COURT: All right. 17 (Pause in proceedings.) 18 OPENING STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT 19 MR. KENDALL: Good morning. 20 If we could have the first slide, please. Over the next 30 minutes, I want to cover four topics. 21 2.2 One is knowledge and intent, particularly my client's 23 knowledge and intent. Then I will go through the three 24 topics that my colleague here raised, the loans, the alleged conversion, or theft, and reporting. 25

2.2

I want to focus on knowledge and intent. Because when the government brings a criminal prosecution based on the campaign rules, it carries a very heavy burden. It has to prove for each charge not only that Mr. Das broke the law, broke the rules, but he did so with the intent and knowledge to break the law.

So as you listen to the evidence, ask yourself, What does this prove about intent? What's shown about knowledge? Is the government taking perfectly legal appropriate actions and trying to twist them and present them in an inaccurate way, or is the evidence more persuasive?

Because what's so remarkable about the government's description of the evidence is how little it said about intent and knowledge. They want you to pass judgment on Mr. Das, to judge his intent and knowledge, even though you've never met him and you do not know much about him.

So to do your job, you will need to know a lot more about what Mr. Das said and thought and did.

You will also need to know about his family and what they did. You will need to know about his hotel business and the impact that it had on the campaign. And for all of these subjects, you will need to know a lot more than what the government intends to show you.

This is a timeline (indicating). You may want to refer to it, or we may use it during the trial, but it's just to

keep a few dates in order.

2.2

Our first topic is the loans from the three family friends. Mr. Das and his parents asked their friends for personal loans that they intended to put into a rainy-day fund to cover problems at the hotels. The Das family had their own separate family money to loan to the campaign. Under the rules, a candidate can lend as much money as they want, as you heard. The Das family intended to get their campaign money from a condominium they sold in India, and from nearly one million dollars in cash in their own bank accounts and investments. To be more precise, it was \$972,000.

Mr. Das discussed this with Mr. Chaudhuri. What would be the legal way to structure the loan to the campaign so they could do it correctly?

And if Mr. Das's mother, who is a professor -- she's Dr. Das -- she hadn't mistakenly moved \$79,000 from the wrong bank account, these loans never would have been an issue in this case.

The campaign rules are highly technical and very unique. The campaign laws are enforced at two levels. The FEC, or Federal Election Commission, enforces them at a civil, non-criminal level. And they oversee a lot of the filings and paperwork that you will hear about. But they only regulate election matters. They don't regulate loans

to a private business, or personal loans to a candidate's mother for her business investment.

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So first let's talk about the background of Mr. Das and the evidence on the three loans.

He grew up in North Andover. He went to law school, but he never worked with campaign laws, and he don't know anything about them before the campaign.

In 2007 he stopped working as a lawyer and went to work for Hilton Hotels in India. He worked there and was quite successful as an employee of a big company.

But if you want to understand about these three loans, you should understand some things about his family and cultural background. While he was working in India, his parents were still in North Andover, and both were past 70 years old. His parents are now well into their 80s. They moved from India to Massachusetts, and they're from a group in India known as Bengalis.

Bengalis come from the eastern part of India. Bengali families are known for pride of education. Dr. Das is a professor, retired from a university, and they're very close. The families are extremely close. Children grow up, but they don't grow away from their parents. Adult children show their parents great respect and deference. Because Mr. Das was their only child, and he's not married and he didn't have his own children, they are a particularly close

and dedicated nuclear family. They have each other, the three of them.

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So in 2012 Mr. Das left his job in India, moved back to his parents' house in North Andover, and the three of them decided to start a family business opening small boutique hotels. Mr. Das wanted to go from being an employee to being an entrepreneur. His parents had left their entire estate to him in their wills, so they agreed to use his inheritance to finance this hotel business. His parents wanted to be involved and help their son build a business. It could be a legacy they accomplished with him.

The Das family owned about 40 percent of this hotel business, and their family and friends were investors who owned the other 60 percent.

Those numbers are important. They owned 40. Their family and friends owned 60 percent.

This was a true mom-and-pop business. They bought hotels that were nice, but they were old, and if you've ever owned an old building, you know what maintenance problems are.

The hotels quickly ran into trouble. In 2015 and 2016 pipes burst in the winter. There was incredible flooding. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of lost income, plus damage. The Das family had to loan the hotel hundreds of thousands of dollars to keep the business going. And even

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though they only owned 40 percent of the hotel, they did
100 percent of the lending. It was family and friends who
were the investors. There was a sense of being protective
about people who do business with them. And during the
times that the hotels were shut down, some for months at a
time, they paid all their employees, and they paid them
their health care.

I'd like to say they're old school when it comes to their business, but they had to borrow money to do that, to pay the salaries and health care and other things, and they were paying as high as 12 percent interest on loans. That was a time when mortgage rates were 4 percent.

As many of you know, owning a small family business can be very tough.

In 2017 Mr. Das made the worst decision of his life.

One that he owns. One that he accepts the failure and problems that came from it.

He thought the hotels might be in better shape. That is when he made a decision that, today in hindsight, looks so foolish. When the Congresswoman from Lowell announced she was retiring, he saw this as an opportunity to fulfill several dreams. If he ran for Congress, he could push for the issues he believed in; health care, protecting small businesses. He could become the leader of the Indian community in the United States.

Though technically anybody can run for office in the United States, in reality most political campaigns are for people with lots of money, lots of money, and a team of highly experienced political consultants.

Mr. Das had a naive but honest plan. He thought he could put the money his family borrowed into a rainy-day fund for the hotels. That way his management team could run the business and he could shift his attention and run for Congress. He could take his own money and loan it to his political campaign.

Can we have the next slide, please.

This slide that you can see on your screens is a picture of a letter he sent to one of his employees in November just before the loans took place. And you see from the yellow highlighting, what is he repeatedly saying? We have a cash reserve. We're going to maintain our cash reserve. It can't be like in the past where I was borrowing money to pay salaries for people and taking on debt. I want to have a cash reserve to set the business up.

That's why he borrowed the money from the three friends.

In order to raise cash for the hotels and the campaign, before he announced his candidacy, Mr. Das had set in a plan to sell \$300,000 in assets that he had in India. He and his mom jointly owned a condominium in Calcutta. They sold it

for \$255,000 in August of 2017.

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The government knows this. These document are sitting in their database. They may not have looked at it. They may not have talked about it, but they've been sitting on these documents for years.

And he'd already started to liquidate his retirement, the 401(k) plan of the Indian version in India. So that was the \$300,000, to set up for these plans of his.

Well, things in India don't move as quickly as in the United States.

He got \$192,000 released quickly, but there was another hundred thousand that got held up. Luckily, he and his parents had about a million dollars of liquid cash in their accounts, and they decided they could use part of his inheritance to finance his dream of running for Congress.

So in December of 2017, his mother borrowed \$125,000 from three family friends to put into the rainy-day fund, and he could loan a minimum of at least \$250,000 to his campaign from the family's own funds, including the condo proceeds from India, 192,000.

Why does a family with close to a million bucks in the bank borrow 125,000 from friends?

The money in the bank was left from the parents' life savings and his savings. The Das family had already invested over a million-and-a-half into the hotels from

their life savings. They made hundreds of thousands of dollars of emergency loans in the past, when pipes burst, when the floods came, when they were paying salaries.

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Mr. Das realized it would put a lot of pressure on his parents to expect them to bail out any future hotel problems just from their own savings. They owned 40 percent but made 100 percent of the loans. They didn't want to pressure family and friends that were their investors.

So they asked three friends if they would loan Mr. Das' mother, Dr. Mitras Das, money that she could draw on if she needed it for the hotels. Many families in the Indian community in the United States are very close to each other, and they support each other financially. You should not find this cultural practice surprising. Many other immigrant groups in other communities here have similar admirable close ties.

Separate from the loans from the family friends,
Mr. Das could take the entire 192,000 from the condo sale,
and he could take another 60 to 80,000 from savings.

Toby Chaudhuri was a Das family friend. You heard Ms. Wan mention him. But more important, he was the national chair of the Das political campaign, a highly experienced political consultant and by far the most influential adviser to Mr. Das and the campaign. Mr. Das had never before run for office or a political campaign.

Mr. Das looked at Mr. Chaudhuri for his advice on most campaign issues.

Could we have the next slide, please.

2.2

Take a look at the slide in front of you. This is what they discussed to do. The goal there would be a hundred twenty-five thousand they could borrow from family friends.

The blue is the close-to-a-million dollars they had in their own accounts. They kept them separate. One goes to the business. One goes to their campaign. A perfectly appropriate way to do it.

Could we have the next slide, please.

You'll see this is a Bank of America account that they talked about where things were being transferred out of.

You can see the \$192,000 coming in from India just in

December at the same time that the three loans took place.

So what was the problem?

Dr. Das, Mr. Das's mother, had always managed the bank accounts for the family. Her father had been a prominent banker in India, and she liked that role of being the person to manage the bank accounts. She always kept track of family funds and wired money from different accounts. That was what she did.

Unfortunately, the money from the condo sale went into the same account as the money from the three family friends.

And when she wired them out, she didn't look to separate

what went from where.

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If we could have the next slide, please.

You'll see here this is a graph of all the family bank accounts. Those blue lines above the red all have more than \$79,000 in them. Dr. Das could have taken the money from any of those five accounts, or six accounts, wired the money with the condo money, and there would have been no claim about the funds. The fact that she didn't realize she had to keep them strictly separate, or maybe she should have kept them strictly separate, is why we have this problem.

If we could have the next slide, please.

This is what we're talking about. That red is the money, the \$79,000, that the government has a problem with. The blue is all of the other money they could have just taken it from for that small portion of the red. That is what this loan issue is about.

No one's blaming Dr. Das. She was just transferring funds between accounts as she'd repeatedly done before. Clearly her son should have given her better directions to keep the money separate. But in this family, and in Bengali culture in general, children don't micromanage their parents. They respect them and they defer to them. He had no idea the funds would be mixed together for their transfer.

There's an old saying, "Money is fungible." People

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also say, "All money is green." That means money's interchangeable, and you can use it interchangeably without problems. That may be true in a lot of businesses, but under the FEC rules, the government gets upset, and that's why they brought these charges.

The government asked you to pretend that the only money the Das family had was in this one account at Bank of America where the three personal loans and the proceeds from the condo were held together.

It wants you to pretend the other \$972,000 didn't exist. They pretend it didn't exist in the family bank accounts, and it didn't exist in Mr. Das' intent and knowledge.

Before Mr. Das ran for Congress, he didn't know anything about campaign rules regulating loans.

So how do we know he thought this was a legal way to raise money? Because he discussed it with his closest campaign adviser, Mr. Chaudhuri. And Mr. Chaudhuri agreed it was okay.

Could we have the next slide, please.

This is a picture of Mr. Chaudhuri, and these are things he wrote about the loans before the government came to him. And you will hear he said, "We did it carefully. We did it the right way in 2017 so there wouldn't be a legal problem."

So why does the government say that Mr. Chaudhuri will say something different? Why do they claim that there is a problem?

Two reasons.

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Mr. Chaudhuri will say something different first because when the Das family went bankrupt and lost the hotels and lost a lot of their money, it took them a long time to pay back Mr. Chaudhuri the \$50,000, and he was livid.

The second reason is when the government interviewed Mr. Chaudhuri, as they referenced, they didn't like his original story, and they threatened him into changing his story.

Three years ago the FBI was looking at the records from the campaign and they went to speak to Mr. Chaudhuri. He didn't say there was anything wrong with the loan. The government interviewed a second time. And again he didn't say there was a problem.

So what happened? The government stopped the second interview and made it clear to Mr. Chaudhuri that the government didn't accept what he was saying. And they made it clear that he was putting himself at risk with the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's Office.

Mr. Gallagher and the FBI agent had a further conversation with Mr. Chaudhuri's lawyer and told the lawyer

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that the government did not accept his statement, knowing that the lawyer would relay this to Mr. Chaudhuri in an attorney-client privileged conversation. That means

Mr. Chaudhuri can discuss things privately with his lawyer about what the government said, and I can't get answers from him because it's a privileged conversation, and you can't hear what was related through the lawyer. It's a standard government technique to pressure witnesses to change their story.

The FBI, who was present, was supposed to write all of this down in the FBI reports because that's what the reports are supposed to be, an honest, straightforward, and complete telling of what happened. None of this showed up in the FBI record of the interview or the reports.

So we wrote a letter and we asked what was missing, tell us what happened. And the government finally did give us a response, and I will read you some quotes from it.

"During that brief interview, I indicated to
Mr. Chaudhuri and his counsel that I had some concerns about
the truthfulness of Mr. Chaudhuri's statements and indicated
we should discontinue the interview for Mr. Chaudhuri to
speak with Attorney Peabody. Shortly after that meeting,
although I cannot recall the specific details, I probably
also expressed some concerns to Attorney Peabody about the
credibility of Mr. Chaudhuri's statements."

And then it goes on, "Prior to the third interview that took place on June 3, 2021, my assumption is that Attorney Peabody had conversations with Mr. Chaudhuri that would be subject to the attorney-client privilege."

If Mr. Chaudhuri had kept saying to the government what he said in those letters that you read, what he told the government in two interviews, that the loans were not for the campaign, the government either would have indicted him or threatened to indict him.

Could I have the next slide, please.

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If he changed his story just ever so slightly, they would let him go.

Take a look at the screen that's in front of you.

Mr. Chaudhuri's given two versions of what happened.

The blue version is what he said before the government threatened him. And what he said -- his version was, "The condo money and the self-fund would go to the campaign, and the hotel money would be the three loans."

No problems. No issues at all to be concerned about.

After the government threatens him, what does he now say? "Well, they scrambled the money up. Some condo money goes to the campaign. Some condo money goes to the loan."

I ask you -- you're going to hear in this case that Mr. Chaudhuri is a 20-year-experienced political consultant. He's been around the block when it comes to campaigns, and

he is the adviser that Mr. Das relies on.

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Mr. Das is a newcomer to politics. But he's a lawyer. He's in business. He's not stupid.

If they could do it the right way and use the condo money with a little bit of the family money, why would they want to do it the wrong way?

The only reason the government can even make this argument is simply because Dr. Das did not separate out where the \$79,000 came from to top off the condo money.

At the end of this trial Judge Stearns will instruct you on the legal definition of "reasonable doubt." You will see that a person like Mr. Chaudhuri, who changes his story when the government doesn't like it, is walking reasonable doubt.

Now, I've shown you that a candidate may not be able to borrow money from friends to put into a campaign, but he and his family could borrow money during a campaign to put into a private business. You may think that sounds like a workaround or a loophole or something that's not very kosher. But remember, senators and members of Congress wrote these campaign laws to regulate themselves, and they gave themselves this flexibility. Whether you think it's a good law or a bad law, it doesn't matter. Because as jurors you must apply the law as Judge Stearns instructs you. You cannot apply a different law to Mr. Das. You must apply the

version Congress passed for itself.

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Now let's talk about the conversion of the campaign funds.

They are claiming he stole \$314,000 or some amount of that. Mr. Das used his \$314,000 for the campaign committee to repay the personal loans he had given to the campaign.

They gave you this chart that is an absolute misstatement of the facts. Remember this chart from the government that shows Mr. Das gave 272 and took out 314? They're light by at least \$54,000.

We have a spreadsheet we're going to give the government. You see it has Bates numbers here. It's mostly documents they've been sitting on for the last few years. In Mr. Das' campaign reports he listed about \$55,000 or so -- I don't remember the exact number at my fingertips -- of money he had put into the campaign through his credit cards. It's there in the reports.

They don't want to see it. They keep it out of here.

It's all documented in here. Their witnesses told them

about it, and they didn't follow up when the witnesses told

them about it. They've been sitting on the documents. They

haven't gone through it. Mr. Das put in at least \$325,000

of his money into the campaign.

So when he takes out 314, technically the campaign owes him money, but obviously he's not going to get it. The

campaign's out of money.

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The point is simple. He put the money in; he can take it out. He can take out as much as he put in.

And the fact that they pretend it doesn't exist just says what they're going to do. It doesn't say what you're going to see in terms of evidence.

And what was this fund for? It's paying for like the Internet service at campaign headquarters, paying for registration fees for the democratic party, paying for the campaign vehicle. All standard routine charges that Mr. Das gave. Many of them they gave to the campaign consultant. They're talking about Mr. Chast, that Mr. Chast didn't put into the reports or that he overlooked and reported incorrectly.

But the point is, Mr. Das put in more money into that campaign, documented on the FEC reports, documented on documents they've been sitting on for at least three, four, five years, and they weren't going to mention to you.

Now let's talk about the way that money was paid back.

The government has this issue that Mr. Das took the money from the campaign and had a separate transaction to put it into the business.

Can we have our next slide, please.

What you have to understand is what Mr. Das was doing was the campaign had borrowed the money from him personally.

So if you owe someone personally a loan, who do you pay back? The individual.

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Once Mr. Das got that money, he could whatever he wanted with it because it was his personal funds. And so he took his personal funds, and he put them into the family business to make payroll, to pay taxes, to help out the 60 percent of the owners that he wasn't asking for for money, and he tried the keep the businesses afloat.

If you take a look, I have two different diagrams. On one it's how any normal person would pay back the loan.

You'll see the line number one is Mr. Das putting money into the campaign. The line two is the campaign paying him back for his personal loan. And then he separately puts that money into the business. That's how it should be reflected because that was the transaction.

He didn't have an account at the Lowell Five, so he couldn't put it through his own bank account. He just had to go to the counter and do it. And why did he go to the counter and do it? You'll see there's notes in the business, at the bank actually, that Mr. Das couldn't wait the two days the bank would sit on checks to hold -- to keep their money, for free use of your money.

The hotel business needed the money immediately.

Perhaps some of you understand what it's like when you can't wait for a check to clear for two days and you need the cash

right away. That is what this business was like, and that's what was going on.

If we could have the next slide, please.

2.2

The FEC that regulates these reports and these forms, they have specific rules on what they expect you to do with a personal loan. And one is when you pay yourself back, you list yourself as the recipient of the funds.

What he was doing is exactly what the federal government expects all candidates to do.

You see the list in front of you? It's off the FEC's database. Anybody can look it up on the Internet. It lists the highest people who -- the highest amounts of loans taken out in the 2018 congressional races. You see a lot of these loans are in the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

You'll also see each candidate paid themself back individually. They didn't tell you what they did with the money after they paid themselves back. Maybe they went on a vacation. Maybe they bought a piece of real estate. It's not the FEC's business. They want to see if you made a personal loan and the personal loan is paid back, it's going to the source of the funds, the candidate. It's not some other destination that the candidate may want to put the funds.

That's the -- we just picked those numbers out, the highest loans in the FEC. There's 1354, I think, candidates

who borrowed money, who lent money to their campaign, and then paid themselves back. That's just the first page going by the highest numbers first.

Can we have the next slide, please.

You can see the results from the campaign, it was an absolute disaster. Mr. Das got 1400 votes. He finished way down. It was a complete fault for him to even think that he could ignore the hotel business and spend his family resources there.

Why was he doing this and taking the money out of the campaign and putting it into the business? Because it was pretty clear that he wasn't going to win. It was pretty clear that he had a campaign. They had incredibly good candidate. The chief of staff to the mayor of Boston raised three or four million dollars.

Lori Trahan, who won it, and worked for a congressman, she raised over two -- close to \$3 million.

They had huge political machines of operatives and experts.

He was just some guy who thought, Gee, I should run. Maybe something could happen.

So during that 2018 time period before the campaign when the business started having problems, they couldn't make payroll, they had to pay people's health insurance, they had to cover the tradesmen coming in to do work, he

figured, Better put the money into the hotels than waste it on the campaign.

Now let's talk about the reports. It's the last of the three issues that the government has focused on in the case.

They claim that Mr. Das caused the campaign to file inaccurate campaign reports. When the campaign files its report describing what happened in the prior three months, it's supposed to say how much cash was sitting in the bank account on the last day of that three-month period. All that the campaign finance director has to do is check the monthly statement for the campaign bank account and report how much cash is sitting in the account.

Unfortunately, the consultant hired by Mr. Das never looked at the bank account and reported the wrong number.

This is the simplest of the three issues.

She said that he will testify that he repeatedly asked for the bank accounts. That's not what he said in the grand jury. It's not what he said before. I don't know how they got him to buff up his testimony or make it different than what he said before, but that's not what has been his story prior to hearing it today.

This is the simplest of the issues. The FEC rules are absolutely clear. The candidate has no responsibility to complete, to review, to supervise, or to file campaign reports. If there are inaccuracies in the report, that's

not Mr. Das' responsibility, and he certainly doesn't have criminal liability for them.

2.2

You again may be thinking about these campaign rules and being a little bit skeptical. How can it be that the candidate has absolutely no responsibility to file anything? Remember, representatives in Congress and Senate and senators, wrote those rules to regulate themselves. They put this protection for candidates in the rules. And just as senators and congressmen wrote the rules to limit their own responsibilities, they also limited the obligations of the candidates like Mr. Das, who got a tiny number of votes, and had never served in Congress.

This is a excerpt from the book that the FEC issues for all congressional candidates. It's like a guidebook, how to do things right, how to follow our rules. It's something they put on their website. We'll have FEC witnesses coming. We'll have them testify about it.

What do they put on page 79 on their "How to Run for Congress" handbook? An entry that says, "Candidate does not report campaign activity. Apart from filing a Statement of Candidacy" -- saying you're going to run, that's all, that you're going to run -- "a candidate has no personal reporting obligation under the Act.

"If a candidate receives contributions, obtains loans for campaign activity, or makes disbursements, he/she is

acting as a campaign agent. The transactions are reported by the principal campaign committee."

On the forms that they're talking about, Mr. Das doesn't submit them. He didn't sign them. There's no place for him to have a certification or an acknowledgment that he had anything to do with the forms.

Could we have the next slide, please.

2.2

Now, I want to show you -- this is the witness they talked about just a moment ago, about Mr. Chast.

Mr. Chast -- if we could have the slide, please.

Mr. Chast was the person hired. His company got \$10,000 a month for Mr. Chast and one other person supposedly to provide guidance and run things for the campaign. Ten thousand dollars a month, that's a lot in the campaign world.

And when Mr. Das asked him about the FEC filings, what does he say? "I do this for you." That is their sale pitch. I take care of all of this so you can go out and you can ask for votes, and raise money, and you don't have to deal with the paperwork.

And Mr. Chast was the finance director of the campaign.

And I ask you, have you ever heard of somebody who is a

finance director of an organization who never read the

organization's bank accounts?

He never read them at all. And there were other people

that -- there were several people who could have given him access. He just didn't pursue it.

2.2

And you know why? Because when Mr. Das went in to hire Mr. Chast's company, they told him, We are the pros. We ran Seth Moulton's campaign for the first time he ran for Congress. We know how to deal with first-time candidates who know nothing about the process. We are the pros.

What they didn't tell him was Mr. Chast had never worked on a federal campaign as a finance director before. He was way out of his league.

They may have helped other federal congressional candidates, but the person they assigned to Mr. Das' campaign had no experience with the FEC. That's why he filed things without looking at bank accounts, and he made other mistakes.

There is an old saying, "Success has a thousand fathers but failure's an orphan."

Several of the government's witnesses are going to make clear they don't like Mr. Das. When he had businesses and money to spend, they were happy to work with him. When his finances crumbled, when he was in bankruptcy and having failure, they felt they were owed money or let go, and they became critical of him.

But you're not here voting in a popularity contest.

This case is about the application of very technical rules

to the evidence.

2.2

You'll learn many things about Mr. Das in this trial.

You will learn he's an intelligent man who went to law school, but his law degree is irrelevant to the issues in this case.

You'll learn that he had a successful career in school and at Hilton Hotels, but he failed as an entrepreneur and as a candidate.

You'll also learn that he and his parents wanted to build a family business together, but they lost it to bankruptcy.

We also see he was naive to think he could run for Congress and keep his hotel business going, and he owns that, and he will own it for the rest of his life.

You'll see lot of disappointment and mistakes, how a once-successful person was humbled and failed in a very public way.

But you will not see a knowing and intentional fraud or deception. You will not see a crime.

Mr. Das withdrew money out of the campaign bank account, as was his legal right, and he repaid loans to himself. And remember, he put a lot more in than he took out.

He took this same money and put it into his business to pay salaries and taxes and for health care.

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You'll see a close, loving family that shared everything, money, dreams and failure. But they didn't steal money or benefit from these problems. They lost more than anyone else. And that's why at the end of this case we will present our closing argument and ask that you return a verdict of "not quilty" on every count in the indictment. Thank you. THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Kendall. All right, Jurors, you've heard two excellent opening presentations. You can see from the divergences that a jury is going to be required to decide this case. But conveniently lunch has just arrived. Enjoy the I will have Marsha check with you at 1:30 to make sure you're comfortable. We'll start whenever you feel ready to go, but no sooner than 1:30. And I will have you out of here by four o'clock this afternoon. So it should make the commute a little easier. So the jurors will be excused for lunch, and we'll see you at 1:30 or thereabouts. THE CLERK: All rise. (Recess.) THE CLERK: All rise. (Whereupon, the Court entered the courtroom.)

THE COURT: All right. The jurors are on their way

down, so what is our issue?

2.2

MR. GALLAGHER: There is an exhibit we intended to not admit, really out of concern possibly there might be hearsay. And what the exhibit is is that Eric Chast sent an email to the defendant about the forms he filed with the FEC 3. And in that was a link. And the exhibit we are going to introduce now is a link to instructions about how to fill out the form.

I believe the argument against it was that there was no evidence, other than receiving the link, that Mr. Das actually looked at. But since the defendant has shown now really an instruction manual to the jury giving them a slice of -- really what we think is an inaccurate picture of obligations, the fact that Mr. Das received something and what it says, we think, is relevant based upon that opening statement.

MR. KENDALL: If I may be heard, your Honor.

If you took take a look at Exhibit 23. It's the FEC instructions for the FEC Form 3. My client has no obligation to file a Form 3, to review a Form 3. There is no signature place for him. He's truly -- this is the whole issue that the FEC has set up. The client -- the candidate has no responsibility for the form that they have the instructions.

If you read the wording of what Mr. Chast said, he

1 said, Please see the reporting instructions. If you have 2 any questions, give me a call. 3 He didn't say, You have to read them, or, Read them and come back to me. He said, Please see them if you have any 4 5 questions. 6 I don't believe this witness will testify he ever 7 discussed it with my client; my client in any way ever acknowledged reading the link that was there. 8 9 THE COURT: Sounds like perfectly good 10 cross-examination to me. 11 All right. It's admittable. 12 MR. GALLAGHER: Your Honor, do you want the witness 13 on the stand? 14 THE COURT: Somebody's going to have to be on the 15 stand in a minute because the jury is outside. 16 THE CLERK: You can put him on. 17 (Pause in proceedings.) 18 THE CLERK: All rise for the jury. 19 (Whereupon, the jury entered the courtroom.) 20 THE CLERK: Court is open. You may be seated. 21 THE COURT: Welcome back. I hope the lunch was 2.2 satisfactory. It is the best the federal government can 23 offer. 24 All right. Let's call our first witness. THE CLERK: Please raise your right hand. 25

## 1 SCOTT FERSON, sworn. 2 THE CLERK: Thank you. You may be seated. 3 Can you please introduce yourself, spelling your last name for the record? 4 5 THE WITNESS: Sure. I'm Scott Ferson, F-E-R-S-O-N. 6 DIRECT EXAMINATION 7 BY MR. GALLAGHER Mr. Ferson, good afternoon. 8 9 Good afternoon. Α 10 Would you please tell us how old you are, sir? 11 How old I am? I'm 61. Α 12 What do you do for work? Q 13 I run a public affairs and public consulting firm called 14 Liberty Square Group. 15 Q You're doing that for how many years? 16 Α Twenty-four years. 17 What does Liberty Square Group do? 18 We do a number of things. We do lobbying, strategic Α 19 consulting, communications work for for-profit companies, 20 nonprofits, and political candidates. 21 You're doing this for how many years? 22 With Liberty Square, for 24. But before that I had Α 23 worked for a congressman and U.S. senator and worked on 24 campaigns. Let's talk about that prior experience. 25

1 Who were the political candidates or 2 representatives you've worked for? 3 Well, on the Senate staff for Senator Kennedy, and then for his reelection campaign in '94 and subsequent elections. 4 5 The presidential campaign for Congressman Gephardt in 1988. 6 7 And in minor roles in other presidential campaigns. And then as a consultant for Congressman Stephen 8 9 Lynch from 2001 to today. 10 Congressman Seth Moulton. 11 Governor Patrick and Lieutenant Governor Murray. 12 District attorneys, a number of candidates on the 13 local level. 14 Sounds like you've been involved in a lot of campaigns. 15 A lot of campaigns. 16 What is your particular role in political campaigns? 17 What do you do? 18 So my background is -- again, I was one of Senator Α 19 Kennedy's press secretaries. So my background is in 20 communications. 21 I play that role for currently-now Senator Markey, 2.2 and Speaker of the House Ron Mariano. So that's my 23 particular expertise. 24 But for Seth Moulton, for instance, I was his 25 general consultant. So it's that person who comes in and

- 1 sort of just overlays what the strategy might be, in
- 2 addition to my communications work.
- 3 Q How far did you go in school?
- 4 A I have an undergraduate degree in political science from
- 5 UMass Dartmouth, and a masters in strategic public relations
- 6 | from George Washington.
- 7 Q Do you do any teaching?
- 8 A I teach about elections in congress at Stonehill
- 9 College.
- 10 Q Mr. Ferson, are you also involved in something known as
- 11 the Blue Lab?
- 12 A Yes.
- 13 | Q Tell us what Blue Lab is?
- 14 A The Blue Lab is a political incubator that trains
- 15 | college-aged students how to run campaigns.
- 16 Q And is that part of the Liberty Square Group, or is that
- 17 part of your teaching?
- 18 A It's -- well, it's part of Liberty Square, in that I own
- 19 Liberty Square and I own the Blue Lab. The Blue Lab is a
- 20 | nonprofit that specifically is a training program that works
- 21 on -- we pair them with campaigns.
- 22 Q Mr. Ferson, do you know the defendant in this case,
- 23 Mr. Abhijit, or "Beej," Das?
- 24 A I do.
- 25 | Q Can you please tell us where he is sitting and what he

1 is wearing. 2 He is sitting to my right in a blue suit. 3 MR. GALLAGHER: Your Honor, may the record reflect that the witness has identified the defendant? 4 5 THE COURT: It may. 6 Mr. Ferson, can you explain to us how it was that you 7 met Mr. Das? I had -- actually was introduced by a mutual friend who 8 9 was somebody who had worked at the Liberty Square Group. 10 And that mutual friend, what was his name? Q 11 Eric Cafori [ph.] Α 12 Q How did you know Mr. Cafori. 13 I've known Mr. Cafori for a long time as a consultant when he worked for the J. Thorp [ph.] Company, and I was 14 15 consulting with -- and then he joined my firm for a period 16 of time. 17 So what was the purpose of your meeting, Mr. Ferson, 18 with Mr. Das? 19 It was a little bit of a unique situation for us in that 20 it was an open congressional seat. I had worked on the last 21 time the congressional seat was open for Eileen Donoghue, 22 who was the Mayor of Lowell who ran and came in second to 23 Congresswoman Tsongas. 24 So we were approached by a number of campaigns,

since -- I also -- when I first started working, my first

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- job was working for an acting congressman at the time.
- 2 Q Let's talk about this open district.
- 3 Are you familiar with the Third District, the
- 4 federal district, of Massachusetts?
- 5 A Yes.
- 6 Q What basic geographic area does that cover in the
- 7 Commonwealth?
- 8 A It -- from Haverhill sort of south, south of Lowell and
- 9 then west along the New Hampshire border.
- 10 Q Do you know -- I'm sorry.
- Do you know who the current member of the U.S.
- 12 House of Representatives is representing that particular
- 13 | congressional district?
- 14 A Yes. Lori Trahan.
- 15 Q You mentioned a person by the name of Niki Tsongas, who
- 16 is that?
- 17 A Niki Tsongas was the Congresswoman after Congressman
- 18 Meehan left the seat. She was elected in a special election
- 19 and served until she retired.
- 20 Q And you mentioned Representative Tsongas decided not to
- 21 seek reelection?
- 22 | A Yes.
- 23 Q And what then happened? Did you start to receive phone
- 24 calls from other potential candidates?
- 25 A I did. My first call proactively was to then-Senator

- 1 Donoghue, I helped elect her to the State Senate, to see 2 whether she was interested in running again for it.
- 3 And state Senator Donoghue, did she end up joining or Q participating in the election? 4
- No, she ended up not running for the seat. 5
- 6 So once that happened, Mr. Ferson, did other candidates 7 reach out to you to potentially retain your services in this campaign?
- 9 Yes, some who got into the race and some who did not.
- 10 At the time there were a number of people who were looking
- 11 at it.

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- 12 And was Mr. Das one of the individuals who approached
- 13 you?
- 14 Α Through Eric, yes.
- 15 Q Where was your first meeting with Mr. Das?
- 16 Α It was on his yacht.
- 17 Can you describe to us what the yacht looked like?
- 18 It was big. It was part of his business. You know, he, Α
- I think, had -- there was an event on the boat. So it -- I 19
- 20 don't know that I went down below, but we sat -- it was a
- 21 nice day and we sat outside.
- 22 When was this approximately, Mr. Ferson?
- 23 Other than the weather was nice, I'm not sure I can
- 24 specifically remember.
- 25 Q Was it before the election?

A Oh, yes, well before.

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- 2 Q The election cycle we're talking about, what were the years that took place?
- 4 A Was it '18? So this would have been in '17, 2017.
  - Q So again, Mr. Ferson, what was the purpose of the meeting you had with Mr. Das and Mr. Cafori on this yacht?

Before I get there, where was the yacht parked or -- no one "parks" their yacht, but where was it?

A It was a marina in Boston. I'm not familiar with

- marinas but something close to the -- you know, that long hotel that's down there.
- Q So what was the purpose of the meeting you had with Mr. Das?
- A At that point I think -- I always considered those to be introductory. It's kind of unclear where it will lead.

  Sometimes people just want, because of my experience, just want to meet, and I'm pretty forthcoming about what I think
- it takes to run, and usually talk to people about why
  they're talking about the race that they are looking at.
- Q You mentioned you talk to them about things that they need to have in order to run?

Did you give any advice or guidance at that time to Mr. Das about the amount of money that would be needed to perhaps win a congressional campaign?

A Yes. It's actually one of the first questions because I

1 think a lot of people -- a lot of people are encouraged to 2 run, but there are some truths to running for a 3 congressional district in Massachusetts in a primary. And the ones that I have worked on and the ones I have observed 4 5 over the previous sort of decade all cost between 1.5 and 6 1.7 million dollars. So if you don't have a lot of money or 7 the ability -- the network ability to raise it, it's sort of -- you know, doesn't last very long. 8 9 Is that what you told Mr. Das? 10 I believe so, yes. Α 11 Did Mr. Das say anything about his ability to finance or 12 raise money? 13 Yes. He clearly was a person of means, it seemed to me. 14 We were meeting on his yacht, and he had, from my 15 observation, a successful hotel business. 16 But for me it's always, Do you have a network of 17 high-worth individuals who can write checks for \$5200, which 18 is the federal maximum. 19 Did Mr. Das say anything about having a network of individuals from whom he could obtain funds? 20 21 He left the impression with me that he was quite confident about that. 2.2 23 Did he say anything else in particular about what type 24 of network he had access to?

Well, he had done international business. He was a

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hotel executive. You know, I didn't need a lot of convincing he had a network.

2.2

I had just come off of the Moulton campaign, who also had a huge network and successfully raised money.

- Q At that point, Mr. Ferson, while you were on the yacht, did you learn anything about Mr. Das' background or work experience?
- A Just generally. It was more of a conversation. It wasn't an interview, the way I took it.
- Q How long did this entire meeting take place?
- 11 A I don't know. Not more than an hour is my quess.
- Q Did you have a subsequent meeting with Mr. Das at your office here in Boston?
  - A Yes. When Senator Donoghue decided not to run, we started holding more formal, what I would call, interview meetings with my entire staff and some Blue Labers.
  - Q What was the purpose of those meeting with the Blue Lab staff? What were you trying to do?
  - A Well, both -- we were perhaps interested in working on a campaign for somebody else if there was a fit. And I was looking forward to doing the race for Senator Donoghue, but that wasn't going to happen. So we were wide open.

And then for the Blue Lab, the best way to learn is to be in the room, so we would let them participate as well.

Q Let me ask you this, Mr. Ferson. Do you recall how many

different potential candidates that you interviewed in addition to Mr. Das during this process?

A Maybe six.

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- Q You mentioned the Blue Lab. The Blue Lab are college students?
- 6 A College students.
- Q And during the meeting with Mr. Das, can you tell us who was present and what happened?
  - A So it would have been whoever from my staff wanted to participate. Maybe there were five or six people in there.

    And my -- you know, we met again with half-a-dozen. So I don't know specifically who may have been in the office at the time.
    - And if there were Blue Labers in the office at the time, we would have let them participate as well. So maybe from the LSG side six to eight.
  - Q In addition to Mr. Das, did Mr. Das come with anybody who was associated with his campaign?
  - A For that, he may have brought a person. But normally for sort of these it's get to know -- see if there's a fit with the candidate. So I don't remember there being an entourage, if you will.
  - Q Was there a subsequent meeting in which other folks came that were associated with the campaign?
- 25 A Yes. So after we met with the six, one or two who may

not have actually gotten into the race, if I remember correctly, I sort of put it to my office, and everybody unanimously wanted to work with Mr. Das.

2.2

Q Mr. Ferson, can you tell the jury what was it about Mr. Das that impressed you and the Blue Lab that you decided to choose him as the candidate you were going to work for?

A He's impressive. He's smart. He's well-educated. His background was nontraditional for -- you know, not the usual path to running for Congress, being a state rep being a state senator. That appealed to us.

The Blue Lab's specific mission is to elect first-time female or people of color to office, people who don't have traditional access to the political process. So he checked off a lot of the boxes that -- but, also just as a person, his background, while not traditional for a politician, if you will, was impressive. And I, as a communication's person, I could see a story that we could tell.

Q By this second meeting or the third meeting, what did you know about his professional background, Mr. Ferson?

A Just the hotel that he ran in Tyngsborough. He also had other properties. He had a background at Hilton, and that that was his -- you know, he was an accomplished businessman.

Q Do you know whether or not he went to law school?

A Yes.

2.2

Q Did he talk about his legal experience in a certain way?

A I think he referred to himself often as a constitutional scholar.

Q Again, the second meeting, I asked you who else was with Mr. Das at that point.

Did Mr. Das ever appear at the Liberty Square Group with a person named Toby Chaudhuri?

A Yes.

Q Can you tell the jury, who is Toby Chaudhuri?

A Toby Chaudhuri, when I met him and being -- having done this for a long time and Toby having done it for a period of time, we may have crossed paths before, but I don't specifically remember that. But he was somebody not unknown to me as a strategist. And it came as -- often on campaigns you'll find somebody who's a very good friend who's in the business but is coming both in a role as a senior strategist and as a friend. So he was there in that role and a campaign manager.

Q What could you tell from what you saw between Mr. Das and Mr. Chaudhuri about the nature of their relationship?

A It seemed to me to be very close. I remember Toby saying that, you know, I'm here to protect Beej. "Protect" not in any -- you know, look out for him. You know, as he's running for Congress, it can get hard.

Q So in addition to Mr. Chaudhuri, was there also a person by the name of Luke or Lucas Seibert who was the first campaign manager?

A Yes.

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Q When did you first see Mr. Seibert?

A I think it was at that meeting. I'm not sure I was familiar with Mr. Siebert.

Q Do you know how long Mr. Siebert was the campaign manager for the campaign?

A I don't know. Although the campaign was not at that point very old.

Q Okay. Did the campaign go through more than one campaign manager for the life of the campaign?

14 A Yes.

Q Talk to us about that. How many different campaign managers did the campaign actually have?

A If there were -- I knew when Lucas left, which was shortly after we were retained. You need a campaign manager. So that's sort of job one. And if there were steps in between Brennan Spencer coming on, who is somebody we would have recommended, I don't remember that.

But I remember Luke being there for a very short period of time, and then Brennan Spencer, who I've worked with on other campaigns.

Q I want to talk about Brennan Spencer a little bit later,

but let's first talk about when you then decided, you and the Blue Lab group, to take on Mr. Das as its client.

2.2

What did you agree to do for the Das for Congress campaign?

A So certainly communications, because that's our expertise, and my office does that -- likes to do that on campaigns when we're hired.

But the general consulting role was sort of just that. You're there, and as campaigns are ramping up, you're in position to focus on message and strategy, sort of a path to victory. You know, overseeing a budget being drawn up, the specific hires that's needed for the people who actually run the campaign on a day-to-day basis.

Q In addition to yourself, did you assign anybody else from your company, Liberty Square Group, to also work on the campaign?

Molly Horan, who had been with me for a number of years

- at that point and had been with me actually to work for

  Senator Donoghue and back to my office to help with

  communications and really run that on a day-to-day basis.

  It was her first campaign in that full-time sort of role, if

  you will, on a campaign, with -- working with me and Eric,

  Eric Chast, in my office.
- Q What role did Eric Chast have in the campaign?
- A Eric came to me about six months earlier. He's my

1 business manager, having come from a political fundraiser. 2 Mr. Ferson, did you ever have any discussions with 3 Mr. Das or other members of the campaign about the importance of fundraising during the first quarter of this 4 5 election? 6 Yeah, quite often. The -- you know, really campaigns 7 for Congress at this point are not complicated, and the first phase is not -- you know, there's not real debates. 8 9 There may be forms. No one is really paying attention to 10 them. It's important to raise money, and it takes a lot of 11 time to raise money. You have to be very disciplined about 12 it. 13 What does that usually involve? How does a candidate 14 raise money? You -- it's working with somebody in -- you know, to 15 16 develop the list of people that you can contact. So we need 17 to take from the candidate the list of people who will then 18 lead to contributions. It's very time-consuming to put that 19 list together. And that's very time-consuming to make the 20 calls because you're not reaching most people on the phone at the first try. So you're sitting -- it's not glamorous 21 2.2 work. You're sitting and what we say, "dialing for dollars." 23 24 Is that often referred to as "call time"? Call time. 25 Α

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           Now, when you agreed to work for the Das for Congress
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       campaign, did you sign or create a document, something
       called a "statement of work"?
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           Yes, we would have.
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           And if you look at the folder in front of you, I would
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       like to show you what's in evidence as Exhibit 1, and if you
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       can tell the jury what that is once it comes up on the
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       screen.
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                MR. GALLAGHER: And I believe, your Honor, we need
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       the PC for the prosecution table.
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                THE CLERK: It's on.
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           This was a "statement of work."
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                MR. GALLAGHER: I think the defense wants it shown.
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                THE COURT: Excuse me?
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                MR. KENDALL: We have no objection.
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                THE CLERK: That's your screen.
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            (Pause in proceedings.)
18
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
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                MR. GALLAGHER: Can everyone see that okay?
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            (Jurors nod affirmatively.)
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           So tell us, Mr. Ferson, what we're looking at.
       Q
           That's a "statement of work."
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       Α
           The statement of work is what?
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           It just outlines what we will do for the campaign.
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       Q
           I would like to go to the very last page first, page 4
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       of 4, and ask you, do you recognize the signature there?
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       Α
           Yes.
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           Is this -- this document is dated December 15, 2017.
       Q
       Did you actually begin working for the campaign before this?
 4
           I don't remember exactly when, although looking at the
 5
       document, since it says November 15, I assume it was before
 6
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       that.
           I would like to go to page 2 of this document.
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       refers to "The Blue Lab."
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           Hm-hmm.
       Α
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           Do you see that?
       Q
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          Yes.
       Α
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           I just want to --
       Q
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                MR. GALLAGHER: Can we highlight that for the jury
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       so they can see that.
           And here it says, "The Blue Lab is a campaign incubator
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       within LSG and the brainchild of Scott Ferson and Sean
18
       Sinclair." Who is Sean Sinclair?
19
           Sean Sinclair is a colleague of mine. I've done work
20
       with him for a number of years on campaigns. He has an
       expertise in putting budgets together, doing mail, some
21
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       media, and has a strong background, having done it for
       Senator Sanders' presidential campaign, for Harry Reid in
23
24
       Nevada, and other places.
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Do you know whether or not Mr. Sinclair ever did any

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Q

1 work for the Das for Congress campaign? 2 Other than -- I believe he put the budget together. Because he -- it's fairly straightforward for the campaign, 3 but then his work would have been towards the end leading up 4 5 to September where you're on TV and you're setting up mail. 6 But nothing at this point other than participating in 7 messaging. So Mr. Sinclair is responsible for all those glossies we 8 9 get in the mail that clog up our --10 Not all of them. Just the ones he sends out, yes. 11 (Laughter.) 12 So if you go to the third of four page. 13 I want to focus now on the topic here that says "fundraising." 14 15 Now, Mr. Ferson, is this a standard statement of 16 work, or did you adjust it at all based upon the client you 17 were representing? 18 We would adjust it depending on what the client's needs 19 are. 20 And can you describe to the jury what's laid out here as 21 far as the assistance the Liberty Square Group would provide the Das for Congress campaign with regards to fundraising? 2.2 So again the fundraising is really maximizing the 23 24 candidate's contacts. So all of the bullets here are meant 25 to be that person who's sitting with the candidate during

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1
       call time, if you will. Lists are prepared. You know,
 2
       recordings of whatever the promises might be, thank you
       notes that go out. All of that work.
 3
           If you go to the next page, please.
 4
                MR. GALLAGHER: The top of page 4, if we can just
 5
 6
       highlight where it says "Scott Ferson will serve..."
 7
           Now, Mr. Ferson, this part of the statement of work,
       what is this discussing?
 8
 9
           Just the roles of the three people that are going to
10
       staff it.
11
           And so you're the general consultant to the campaign,
12
       and that means precisely what, Mr. Scott [sic]?
13
           So it really -- what it means is that -- you know, I
       know how these campaigns are run, how you can win them, and
14
15
       we're going to put a strategy together to do that.
16
           I apologize. I think I just called you "Mr. Scott,"
17
       Mr. Ferson.
18
           That's okay.
       Α
19
           From your experience, do you actually interact act with
       Q
20
       the press about how the campaign is going?
21
           Some general consultants might not. I do. I've got
22
       deep relationships with the press in Massachusetts and
23
       nationally.
24
           It says here that "Molly Horan will manage
```

communications and messaging strategy deliverables."

you explain what that means?

- 2 A Yes. So "deliverables" are press releases. You know,
- 3 you always want to consistently tell a story. So we would
- 4 | work -- you know, you would work with pollsters and other
- 5 people to know what messaging works and resonates with the
- 6 electorate, and those need, you know, to be written.
- 7 Q And last it says, "Eric Chast will manage all
- 8 | fundraising strategy and requests." What does that mean?
- 9 A Eric came over to LSG as a -- with a fundraising
- 10 background.

- 11 Q Do you know whether or not Mr. Chast ever had any prior
- 12 experience working on a federal campaign?
- 13 A I don't.
- 14 Q The other question I have, Mr. Ferson, do you know
- 15 whether or not he had prior experience or expertise in
- submitting reports to the FEC?
- 17 A I don't.
- 18 MR. GALLAGHER: You can take this off the screen,
- 19 please.
- 20 Q Mr. Ferson, how would you describe the success, or lack
- of success, in fundraising for the Das for Congress campaign
- 22 during the last quarter of 2017?
- 23 A It was anemic to barely present. It was very hard to --
- 24 there were -- not successful.
- 25 Q Why do you say that, sir?

- A Because it -- it's very much a disciplined set of tasks
  you have to do. If you're not sitting in a room with a
  telephone making phone calls, you're not fundraising.
  - Q Did you talk to Mr. Das directly about that issue?
- A Yes, in the context of -- because you can see how much money is being raised, so, you know, if you can raise money some other way, that's fine, but he wasn't raising money.
- Q And, Mr. Ferson, do you know what the term "cash on hand" means?
- 10 A Yes.

- 11 Q What does "cash on hand" mean?
- 12 A It's literally that. So you've got -- there's a burn
  13 rate to campaigns. Money comes in; money is spent. What is
  14 left is your cash on hand.
- 15 Q You say "burn rate." What does "burn rate" mean?
- 16 A When you're paying expenses as part of the campaign.
- Q What do campaigns, in your experience, Mr. Ferson, use the money they raise from individual contributors, what do
- 19 they use that money for?
- A Most of it, the bulk of it, at the end of a campaign is used to buy advertising.
- Q For what purpose?
- 23 A Well, name recognition persuasion.
- Q How important is it in your estimation and your
- experience, Mr. Ferson, for the campaign in the very first

1 reporting quarter for a campaign to have a large cash on 2 hand? 3 It has become important. Whether it actually is important is a different question. But it has become 4 5 important because the press and media think that it's 6 important. 7 Did you have conversations with Mr. Das about the importance of that number? 8 9 Yes. Α 10 Did you do anything to try to improve the fundraising 11 that was not happening with the Das for Congress account? 12 I'm not a fundraiser, but as the person who is 13 communicating with the reporters, I impressed upon him the 14 importance of having a number that would impress the press 15 at the end of the quarter or he would not be considered a 16 viable candidate by the press. 17 And if the campaign doesn't have that money, what 18 typically happens in your experience, Mr. Ferson? 19 It's a spirling cycle. If you don't have -- well, if 20 you don't have enough money to pay your bills, that's a problem. That wasn't the case here, I don't believe. 21 22 But if you don't have enough money to show to the 23 press, and through them the public, that you're going to

have money to advertise to get your name known and your

message across, the press won't take you serious. And they

24

1 start to tier viable candidates from nonviable candidates, 2 particularly in multiple-candidate fields. 3 In this particular race, do you recall how many different candidates there were in the race? 4 5 There were six or seven or eight, I think. 6 Is that a crowded field? 7 For an open seat, not necessarily. But it's -- if -from people observing it, not many people are really focused 8 9 on them, so the press is really watching it. It's a crowded 10 field to get press attention. 11 I want to take you, Mr. Ferson, now toward the end of--12 towards the end of 2017. 13 Did the fundraising for the Das for Congress 14 campaign improve? 15 Α No. 16 Did you have a conversation with Mr. Das about his 17 ability to self-fund the campaign? 18 Yes. And we may have had that even going back to the Α 19 meeting on the yacht, which is that there's -- very wealthy 20 people can run for office. And whatever we might think about that, that's just the fact. And if you're wealthy and 21 2.2 can self-fund, as candidates do all the time, that's one way to fund a campaign. 23 24 What was Mr. Das' response? Q

25

Α

That he could do that.

- Q And did you ever ask him about how he was going to be able to self-fund his campaign?
- A No, because it seemed evident to me that he had the ability and resources to do it.
- Q Mr. Ferson, are you familiar with this idea of "opposition research"?
- 7 A Yes.

17

18

19

20

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2.2

- A I think -- the public thinks it's finding out stuff
  about your opponents, but really research is an important
  part of campaigns where you hire a firm to basically scrub
  every public record of the candidate so that you know -- so
  that way you're not -- I never want to be in a position to
  get a call from a reporter asking me something I don't
  already know.
  - Q Do you know whether or not you tried to get any type of opposition research into Mr. Das before he was running for Congress?
  - A There is a firm -- I work with several firms. So there's a firm I like that had worked on the Moulton campaign that I thought had done a really nice job and set up a meeting for her for Mr. Das.
- 23 Q Did that meeting take place?
- 24 A It did.
- 25 Q Do you know if there was any type of opposition research

- 1 that actually got done?
- 2 A She was never retained.
- 3 Q Whose decision was it not to retain the person to
- 4 conduct any opposition research?
- 5 A Ultimately, all of these decisions are the candidate's.
- 6 It's the candidate's campaign.
- 7 Q Do you know whether or not the campaign had an election
- 8 attorney or a campaign lawyer that was assigned that was
- 9 giving Mr. Das any type of advice about campaign finance
- 10 laws?
- 11 A I don't. And from the first meeting I just considered
- 12 Toby Chaudhuri to be filling that role, not as the attorney,
- but as the person looking at those things.
- 14 Q You mentioned the spending of campaign funds. What kind
- of expenses do campaigns have that they need campaign funds
- 16 for?
- 17 A So again the bulk of it, 75 percent of it, is paid
- advertising, the TV ads that you run. You know, now some of
- 19 it is quite inexpensive Facebook ads, but it's mail and TV
- 20 | are quite expensive. The bulk of what you raise is -- goes
- 21 to that.
- 22 | Q Do you know whether or not the Das for Congress campaign
- 23 | had a campaign office?
- 24 A Eventually it did, yes.
- 25 Q Where was that campaign office?

- 1 A In downtown Lowell.
- 2 Q Was there also campaign headquarters?
- 3 A I'm not sure I understand the distinction.
- 4 Q Let me ask you differently.
- 5 Was there a storefront and also a personal
- 6 residence?
- 7 A There was a storefront and a personal residence.
- 8 Q Let's talk about the personal residence first. Where
- 9 was that?
- 10 A That was in a mill -- converted mill building in
- 11 downtown Lowell.
- 12 | Q Was Mr. Das living there?
- 13 A I believe so.
- 14 Q What else was happening at this apartment in downtown
- 15 Lowell?
- 16 A I think -- well, it should have been call time.
- 17 | Q Why do you say "it should have been call time"?
- 18 A Because that's what the candidate should be doing almost
- 19 the entire day.
- 20 | Q In addition to the residence, you mentioned there was
- 21 also a storefront.
- 22 A It was a storefront.
- 23 Q What was happening at the storefront?
- 24 A Not much.
- 25 | Q Why do you say that?

1 There was no need for the storefront. If you don't have Α 2 a lot of campaign staff -- I think there's this sense that 3 campaigns are populated by lots of people stuffing envelopes and sending out mail and stuff. And at that stage in the 4 5 campaign there's just one or two people that are working 6 with the candidate on a daily basis. 7 Do you know whose decision it was to fund a storefront 0 and a campaign headquarters in Lowell? 8 9 I believe it was Mr. Das. Α 10 Mr. Ferson, how did the campaign do as far as cash on 11 hand during the end of 2017? What was the approximate 12 number the Das for Congress campaign was able to achieve? 13 I don't remember. I don't remember there being a focus 14 I remember the intense focus being on the amount 15 raised. 16 Why is that a distinction? 17 Well, if, again, the press are going to criticize a 18 campaign, there's two ways they can do it. One is, You 19 haven't raised enough money like the others. The other is, 20 You don't have enough to buy the things you're going to need 21 to at the end of the campaign. 2.2 I don't remember that being a problem. Do you know whether or not Mr. Das ended up self-funding 23 0

the money that became the final number at the end of 2017?

24

25

Α

I do.

- Q How do you know that?
- 2 A Because the number minus that was not going to be --
- 3 rise to the level that he would remain a serious candidate
- 4 going into the election year.
- 5 Q Did you say anything to Mr. Das to encourage him, in so
- 6 many words, to write a check to the campaign?
- 7 A Yes.

- 8 Q And describe to us, what do you mean by that?
- 9 A I laid it out in terms of how it would be perceived,
- 10 that we needed to report a number that would not be
- 11 | laughable to observers. Because of his resume, he's
- 12 | considered a serious candidate. He meets -- he gets to the
- 13 | starting line. But then if you're not hitting your marks as
- 14 you go along, as several of the other candidates were, he
- 15 | would not be taken seriously.
- 16 Q After -- so at the end the quarter, four quarters in a
- 17 | year with the FEC?
- 18 A Four quarters in the year.
- 19 Q After the end of the quarter, how soon after the quarter
- 20 ends does the campaign publish that number to the public
- 21 | about the amount of cash on hand?
- 22 A They become public on -- they become public 15 days
- 23 after the filing is due. So January 16 in this case for the
- 24 | fourth quarter of '17. January 16 of '18 they would be
- 25 public.

```
1
                But if -- there's this sort of ritual that goes on
 2
       that if your number is quite high, you self-report it almost
 3
       immediately, so January 2, January 3.
           Do you know whether or not after -- around January 15th
 4
 5
       or 16th, whether the Das for Congress campaign published
 6
       that number in a press release?
 7
       Α
           It did, yes.
                MR. GALLAGHER: If we could have in evidence
 8
 9
       Exhibit No. 2, please.
10
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
11
           Can you tell us what we're looking at here, Mr. Ferson?
       Q
12
           This is a press release.
       Α
13
           It has two contacts on here, Scott Ferson and Molly
14
       Horan?
15
       Α
           Yes.
16
           Do you know, between the two of you, who wrote this?
       Q
17
       Α
           Molly would have written it.
18
           Do you know whether or not your client, the candidate,
       0
19
       Mr. Das, looked at it before it was submitted to the press?
20
           I don't know that we would have done it any differently
21
       than we always do, which is the candidate approves anything
22
       that goes out public.
23
           Have you ever sent out a press release without running
24
       it by the candidate beforehand?
25
       Α
           No.
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1
           Now, here when it says --
       Q
 2
                MR. GALLAGHER: And if you could just raise the
 3
       first paragraph so we will see that a little closer.
           When it says, "Today, Beej Das, Democratic candidate for
 4
       Congress in Massachusetts' Third Congressional District,
 5
 6
       announced that he had raised $425,000 in the fourth
 7
       quarter," what did you understand that to mean?
           Raised his money that has been taken into the campaign.
 8
 9
           Can that include not just donations but self-funding?
       Q
10
           Yes.
       Α
11
           And that term "self-funding," Mr. Ferson, what do you
12
       understand "self-funding" to mean?
13
           A lot of campaigns, if they hit a period where they need
       to have money in a campaign, the candidate will write a
14
15
       check as a loan to a campaign.
16
           And that money for self-funding, what's your
17
       understanding as far as whose money that is?
18
           That has to be the candidate's money.
       Α
19
           Mr. Ferson, why do you say it has to be the candidate's
20
       money?
                MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor.
21
22
                THE COURT: Overruled.
23
                MR. GALLAGHER: You can answer, Mr. Ferson.
24
           Why was that money, if it's personal money, have to be
```

the candidate's money.

- A If it's not the candidate's, it's considered a contribution that has limits.
- Q And during the 2017-'18 election cycle, were there limits?
- 5 A Yes.

20

- 6 Q What were those limits?
- A I believe they're -- they get bumped up every cycle, but they're -- it may have been 4,800 to \$5,200 per person, half primary, half general election.
- Q So you can spend that much on the primary, and then the second tranche is on the general?
- 12 A I can contribute that to a candidate as an individual.
- Q How does one find out what the contribution limits are for an election cycle?
- 15 A They're published, you know, so any -- as part of the
  16 fundraising, and this works for people who we represent now,
  17 sometimes somebody will write a check larger than that that
  18 has to be returned.
  - Q So if a campaign gets a check that is larger than the contribution limit, what should be the practice as far as accepting or not accepting the money?
- A You -- if it's above, you, I believe it works on the

  federal level the same way it does in the state, you have to

  cut a check from the campaign to the person back for the

  excess.

Q Okay.

2.2

Going back to this press release here.

When it says "his campaign's first fundraising quarter, and that his campaign currently has \$550,000 cash on hand," what did you understand that to mean, Mr. Ferson?

- A In the bank.
- Q So as of what date? As of what date?
- A As of what date?

Well, that -- you try to put as good a face on your press release as possible. It could be that the 550 cash on hand was from January 15.

- Q Did you have conversations with members of the press about Mr. Das' campaign, about his cash on hand?
- A The money raised and the cash on hand, yes.
- Q Can you talk to us about that? Explain to us what you did.
  - A More the money raised. You know, there were a couple of candidates who were very aggressive fundraisers and would have reported their numbers early on.

Dan Koh, Rufus Gifford also had personal resources as well but were very successful in fundraising.

We, as you can see from the press release, did not let reporters know what money was going to be reported until it became public. So I had to have conversations to explain why and how it was going. The belief behind that is it's

not going very well.

2.2

MR. GALLAGHER: We can take this off the screen.

- Q So you mentioned you got the got impression that Mr. Das was running a successful business. What gave you that impression?
- A Everything that I could see made it successful, but also, since I do talk to the press a lot through these things, not once did a reporter say to me, Has he got business problems? Which is also another way that you kind of find out whether your campaign has an issue.
- Q Did you ever get a chance to go through his books and records of his business to see if that was true?
- A I never have for any campaign I ever worked on, and, frankly, I didn't see a need for it.

If I felt that he didn't have the means to do what needed to be done on the campaign, I might -- or if I didn't see a sense that there were means there and he said, I could write a check for an enormous amount of money, I might ask a question where that was coming from, but I didn't feel the need in this case.

Q Going back to the cash on hand.

Did you ever have an opportunity to look at any type of bank statement or financial record to verify that that cash on hand on January 16, 2018, was actually more than a half-million dollars?

Α I did not.

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But I would have said to Molly, The numbers have to be accurate. Because if they're not accurate and a reporter can look at what's being reported and it's different from what we were saying in the press release, that's a problem. Do you know who from LSG, Liberty Square Group, was working with Mr. Das in order to try to get that number to be accurate? I don't specifically. So we talked about different campaign managers. You mentioned a person early on by the name of Brennan Spencer. Did you try to assist the campaign in getting a campaign manager? Yes. Part of the role of general consultant is if you have spots filled, they need to be filled, and we would help with that. Was one of the spots that was not filled that of campaign manager? After Lucas left, yes. Α What does the campaign manager do in your experience, Mr. Ferson? They would run the day-to-day campaign. You know, you Α want the candidate to be the candidate. In this case, meeting voters who are at this early stage raising money,

and then the mechanics of how the campaign is run is run by

- 1 the campaign manager on a day-to-day basis.
- 2 Q Did you recommend someone in particular for the Das for
- 3 | Congress campaign?
- 4 A I did.
- 5 \ Q Who was that?
- 6 A Brennan Spencer.
- 7 Q How do you know Mr. Brennan Spencer?
- 8 A I knew him from -- we had -- I had been a general
- 9 consultant for Andy Vargas, who had been elected to the city
- 10 council and then a state representative from Haverhill,
- 11 | which is part of the district. And he had done, I thought,
- 12 a nice job on the campaign.
- 13 Q Why do you think he would have been a good addition for
- 14 the Das for Congress campaign?
- 15 A Beej was a first-time candidate. So he needed somebody
- 16 | who knew how to do the mechanics of a campaign, build lists
- 17 and all that stuff.
- 18 Q Mr. Ferson, are you familiar with a product known as NGP
- 19 VAN, letters N-G-P hyphen VAN?
- 20 | A I am.
- 21 Q What is that?
- 22 A As I understand it, it's what we would call a voter
- 23 file.
- 24 Q Have you ever used it?
- 25 A In 1988 on the Gephardt for President campaign, it was

- 1 printed out on paper, and you used a pencil to check off 2 I have never used anything electronically, but I understand that that's the modern way of keeping track of 3 things on NGP VAN. 4 5 So did you have any involvement in helping set up the 6 NGP account for the Das for Congress campaign? 7 Α No. Any involvement in setting up different fields or data 8 9 entry for this product? 10 No. Α 11 Do you know if Eric Chast did? 12 Α I don't.
- Q In addition to Brennan Spencer, did you also -- was
  there a person who came to the campaign around the same time
  named LA, as in the letters L-A, Harris to join the
  campaign?
- 17 A Yes.
- 18 Q Tell the jury, who is LA Harris?
- 19 A LA Harris is a fundraiser.
- 20 Q Did you know LA Harris before this campaign?
- 21 A I believe so in another congressional campaign.
- Q What was LA Harris supposed to be doing for the campaign
- as far as you know?
- 24 A Since the fundraising wasn't successful, you have to
- 25 | find someone who his a fit with the candidate to run call

1 time, and LA Harris had quite a good track record of doing 2 that. So we finished the last quarter of 2017, and now we're 3 into the first quarter of 2018. Did fundraising for the Das 4 5 for Congress campaign improve at all? Not that I can recall. 6 Α 7 Why do you say that? How do you know that fundraising had not improved? 8 9 I'm not as familiar with the numbers after that, but the 10 behavior had not changed. 11 When you say the "behavior," Mr. Ferson, what are you 12 talking about? 13 Again, if a candidate's not in a room with a telephone 14 and a person on call time, they're not raising money. So --15 and they're not -- it's not just raising money. You're 16 asking people to hold events where they're putting 17 fundraising events together. None of that was happening 18 from my observation. 19 Let's talk about campaign events. 20 Were there actually Das for Congress campaign 21 events that you attended? 2.2 Α I attended one. 23 Where was that event? 0 24 It was at his hotel.

Can you tell us how the turnout was and what happened?

Α

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Q

It was early in my involvement in the campaign, and it gave me hope. I thought it was -- it was a good, what we say, it was a "good room." There were a lot of people there. I don't know the money raised, but from the number of people who were there who were friends and family, it looked like a good start. Were there other campaign events, either in Massachusetts or outside the Commonwealth, that you knew about? Not that I recall. Α With the addition of Brennan Spencer and LA Harris, what were you trying to accomplish with adding those two folks to the Das for Congress team? To find the -- fundraising is hard, and very few people like to do it; and very few people are really good at it, so you have to find the right fit for the candidate. And we try to take that in, I think, in a number of different ways to make the fundraising successful. I was convinced that the network was there, that the money was there, if we could just figure out how to unlock it from Beej making those calls. What was the issue, Mr. Ferson? Was Mr. Das not making Q the phone calls? He was not making the phone calls, in my estimation. Α

If he was not making the phone calls, what did you

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1
       observe him doing?
 2
           I didn't observe him doing much. It was unclear where
 3
       he was.
           What do you mean by that?
 4
 5
           I didn't -- I didn't see him. The reports I got from
 6
       Brennan Spencer was that he wasn't --
 7
                MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor, hearsay.
                THE COURT: Sustained.
 8
 9
                MR. GALLAGHER: I'll withdraw it.
10
           Now, you mentioned one of the other candidates in the
11
       race was Dan Koh?
12
           Yes.
       Α
13
           And you mentioned that Dan Koh was actually, in fact,
14
       raising a lot of funds. And as you were in the --
15
       approaching the end of the first quarter of 2018, what
16
       quarter is that? What period of months is the first
17
       quarter?
18
           January, February, and March is the first quarter.
19
       Q
           So the last day of March is the end of the quarter?
20
       Α
           Yes.
21
           And so what period of time do you report your
       contributions for, the entire year or just that quarter?
22
23
           No. So it comes out by quarter. It's public on the FEC
       Α
24
       site by quarter, on the 15th after the closing.
25
       Q
           Is the campaign also required to, in addition to the
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1
       money they receive, report the money that they have spent?
 2
       Α
           Yes.
 3
           How is that done, as far as you know?
           "How" -- I'm sorry?
 4
       Α
 5
           How is that done?
       0
           It's with the filing with the FEC. So when the report
 6
 7
       comes out, you can see what's been brought in and what's
       been spent.
 8
 9
           You mentioned something called a "burn rate." Is that
10
       something that the press, in your experience, look at as far
11
       as the viability of a campaign?
12
           They may, if you're burn rate is high. If a campaign
13
       were to hire a hundred staffers in the first quarter, for
14
       instance, that's a very high burn rate.
15
       Q
           Now, did you exchange email with Molly Horan and Beej
16
       Das about Dan Koh's numbers?
17
       Α
           Yes.
18
           And I want to direct your attention to, in evidence,
19
       Exhibit No. 3.
20
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
                MR. GALLAGHER: And if we could just blow up the
21
2.2
       first part of the email where it says, "Poll done by Barbara
23
       L'Italien."
24
           Yes.
       Α
25
       Q
           Let's focus on that first.
```

1 First, who is Barbara L'Italien? 2 Barbara L'Italien was a candidate, but at the time was a 3 sitting state senator. Are these poll numbers? 4 These were her poll numbers. 5 6 And so who is actually providing this data to the Das 7 for Congress campaign? From the memo, it seems that the Mayor of Haverhill gave 8 9 them to Beej. 10 And the Mayor of Haverhill being Mr. Jim --11 -- Fiorentini. Α 12 Fiorentini, okay. 13 And you wrote, "I find the Lori and Rufus numbers 14 to be suspect but not the rest," in your email you write 15 at --16 MR. GALLAGHER: If you would please highlight what 17 Mr. Ferson said at 12:29 a.m. 18 And here, Mr. Ferson, you say that, "I find the Lori and 19 Rufus numbers to be suspect but not the rest." 20 What did you mean by that? I believe that they were both advertising, and so when I 21 look at them, I don't think I would believe that they were 22 too high. So I'm thinking that they were too low because 23 24 they were advertising and that they would have been higher. 25 And Dan Koh would have been advertising as well.

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So, you know, the suspect is when you look at a poll, did the numbers add up to 100. Is the person who is putting the poll out, is that an inflated number or not? So in this case the person actually putting the poll numbers out are Barbara L'Italien, the same person who is ahead in the poll? Α Yes. Which frankly wouldn't have surprised me, as she was the sitting senator that represented the Third District. MR. GALLAGHER: Can you then pull up Mr. Das' response at 12:32 a.m. And when he says here, Mr. Ferson, "Let's chat budgets with Sean soon," do you know which Sean he's referring to? I believe it's Sean Sinclair. Α Do you know also know a person by the name Sean Smith? Α No. Do you know who the treasurer was for the Das for Congress campaign? Α No. When he says next, "This quarter's fundraising has us all a bit rattled. I can self-fund more, but will then need to focus on my business to ensure funds will be available," what did you understand that to mean? I took that to mean that I'm -- you know, one, in terms of the need to raise money, money is not being raised.

Mr. Das, when things weren't working with a particular person, would want to switch to another person, try something else.

All of which I'm in favor of. Try anything until we find something that works.

And Sean Sinclair, having worked on a lot of campaigns and put budgets together, has a wide national network of people. It may have been that we were going to say, you know, What should we do from here?

- Q When he says here that he can self-fund more, what did you take that to mean?
- A It would mean whatever number we were reporting the next day was going to be anemic. I don't remember what the number was, but that led me to believe that there was still a check he could write, as he did in the first reporting period.
  - Q When he said that he was going to self-fund, whose funds did you believe that to be?
- 19 A Himself.

- Q Did he ever tell you that the funds -- that part of the funds he was getting included funds from his family, his parents?
- 23 A No.
- Q Did he say to you that he put in funds from other folks who had contributed money to the campaign, like Jay Shah.

```
1
                MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor, leading.
 2
                THE COURT: Well, it's sufficient leading. Go
 3
       ahead.
           Did he ever tell you that other folks had given him
 4
 5
       money for him to loan for -- so he could loan the money to
 6
       the campaign?
 7
       Α
           No.
           If he had told you that, would that have concerned you
 8
 9
       at all?
10
           I remember he specifically didn't because that would
       Α
11
       have concerned me.
12
           Why?
       Q
13
           I believe that not to be legal.
       Α
14
       Q
          Are you a lawyer, Mr. Ferson?
15
       Α
           I am not a lawyer.
16
           Why do you think that that's not legal?
17
                MR. KENDALL: Objection.
18
                THE COURT: Sustained.
19
                MR. GALLAGHER: I'll move on, your Honor.
20
                MR. KENDALL: And I move to strike the answer.
21
                THE COURT: The objection is sustained, so there is
22
       nothing to strike.
23
                MR. KENDALL: The one before, his opinion of what
24
       was legal or not, your Honor.
                                 I will let that stand. Too late.
25
                THE COURT:
                            No.
```

```
In addition to -- let me go to the next exhibit,
 1
       Q
 2
       Mr. Ferson.
 3
                MR. GALLAGHER: Can you pull up Exhibit 4, please,
       that is in evidence.
 4
 5
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
          And I want to draw your attention, first, your email at
 6
       10:40 a.m. on April 9, 2018 where you say, "Beej has spent
 7
       his career..."
 8
 9
                Now, Mr. Ferson, can you just read to us what you
10
       wrote on April 9, 2018, at 10:40 a.m.?
11
           Sure. "Beej has spent his career building a very
       Α
12
       successful business. He got into this race knowing that he
13
       would be able to raise the money needed. We're on track to
14
       do that. We have a clear idea of how much money will be
15
       needed to reach voters and get our winning message across."
16
          Are you writing that email to anybody in particular?
17
       What are you doing there, Mr. Ferson?
18
           It seems from this that we're getting requests to
       Α
19
       release the money -- to release the number to the press and
20
       that we're not going to do that but would want to provide a
21
       statement, and that would be the statement.
22
         Was that your job, to take that on, the messaging for
       Q
23
       the campaign?
24
          Yes, with Molly.
       Α
25
       Q
           I'm sorry, did you --
```

- 1 Α In consult with Molly. 2 Molly worked for you, right? 0 3 Α Yes. If we can go to Mr. Das' response at 1:08 p.m. on the 4 5 same day. 6 And when Mr. Das says, "Thanks, all. We are 7 sitting or nearly 80K. With in-kinds and last minute checks that are coming in from last quarter, we could hit mid-90s. 8 9 Will confirm this eve." 10 Mr. Ferson, what did you understand Mr. Das' 11 statement to mean? 12 MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor. 13 THE COURT: Sustained. When Mr. Das said, "We are sitting on nearly 80K," what 14 15 did you understand that statement to mean? 16 MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor. 17 THE COURT: Not what he meant but what you 18 understood it to mean. 19 MR. GALLAGHER: Yes. 20 Your understanding, Mr. Ferson. What did you understand that to mean? 21
  - A So I understood it to mean that that's what Beej was telling me. But I did not understand that to be a number until I saw it reported.

2.2

23

24

25

Q As far as reporting goes, does it do any good -- the

- campaign any good if the money is not in the bank account?

  A No.
- 3 Q Why is that?
- 4 A Because that's what reported.
- 5 Q Is there a difference between commitments and actual
- 6 contributions?
- 7 A You can't put commitments in the bank.
- 8 Q What do you mean by that?
- 9 A If someone says, I have a commitment for \$100,000, but
- 10 the actual cash that shows up in a bank account that's
- 11 reported to the FEC is \$50,000, it's not \$100,000.
- 12 Q So what has to be reported, the commitments or the
- 13 contributions?
- 14 A The contributions.
- 15 Q Do you know what an in-kind contribution is?
- 16 A So an in-kind contribution would be if I host a
- 17 | fundraiser for you at my house and I buy the beer and wine.
- 18 That's a contribution to the campaign that would be reported
- 19 not as cash but in-kind.
- 20 Q Were you aware of in-kind contributions that the Das for
- 21 Congress campaign received?
- 22 | A No.
- 23 Q Do you know what Mr. Das is referring to with these
- 24 in-kind contributions?
- 25 A To be honest, I didn't put much stock in the email. So

1 I didn't think anything of it. 2 MR. GALLAGHER: We can take this off the screen 3 now. Now, you talked about different people that you helped 4 5 into the campaign, Brennan Spencer, LA Harris. Were there 6 any other type of national-level consultants that were added 7 to the Das for Congress campaign in April or May of 2018? Not that I remember. He had national consultants when 8 9 we were brought on the campaign, a media firm. 10 Do you remember who those folks were? Q 11 I'm not remembering the names, but nationally recognized 12 media. 13 What do you mean by that, "nationally recognized media"? Q That had worked on successful campaigns nationally. 14 Α 15 Q Do you know a person by the name of Jay Shah? 16 Α I do. 17 Who is Jay Shah? Q 18 I know him as somebody who owned a house we visited 19 once. 20 Was there some type of meeting related to the campaign at his house later in 2018? 21 22 Α Yes. 23 How did that take place? What led to this meeting? 0

Campaigns, if they are not raising money or have other

problems, you know, come to a point of, you know, sort of

24

reckoning, if you will, and I think we were at that point.

So the senior person I was dealing with on the

campaign who had done campaigns before, Toby Chaudhuri, also seemed to recognize that. So it was -- tried to pull a senior-level strategy meeting together of anybody who was at that level in the campaign to see if we could right the ship.

- Q You said this meeting took place at a certain house.
- 9 Where was that?

3

4

5

6

7

8

16

17

- 10 A On the eastern shore in Maryland.
- 11 Q Who was there?
- 12 A The media consultants. There's three partners, two of
  13 them were there. Jay was there, as it was his house as I
  14 understood it. I asked -- Mr. Das had asked, or both had
  15 asked, Sean Sinclair to come down.
  - This was to try to get some people in who, you know, are smart and more senior level who could try to right the campaign. So he came down.
- 19 Q What happened during the first night?
- 20 A I'm sorry?
- 21 Q What happened the first night you were there?
- 22 A It was social.
- 23 Q You stayed the night?
- 24 A Yes.
- 25 Q And the next day what happened?

```
1
           It was eventually a meeting in the early afternoon that
 2
       I thought was productive in having Mr. Das understand what
 3
       he needed to do on his personal effort to get the campaign
       to where it needed to be.
 4
           What was that? What message did you and the others
 5
 6
       communicate to Mr. Das that you think he understood?
 7
           That he needs to raise the money to be a viable
       Α
       candidate.
 8
 9
           During that meeting with those folks did he say anything
10
       about using any money from the campaign to pay hotel bills
11
       or expenses related to his business?
12
           No, not that I remember.
       Α
13
           What happened after this meeting?
           I -- the meeting may have gone on after I left. I left
14
15
       to see my son in Washington. And we then scheduled a
       follow-up to that meeting with -- for a meet with Beej, with
16
17
       Mr. Das, and Mr. Chaudhuri.
18
           Before we get there, I want to show you Exhibit 5, which
19
       is in evidence.
20
                MR. GALLAGHER:
                               And can you just pull up the first
21
       part here down to the signature "regards, Beej."
2.2
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
23
                MR. GALLAGHER: Thank you.
           Could you tell us, Mr. Ferson, is this email related to
24
25
       the meeting we just talked about?
```

- 1 Α Yes. 2 The location here at "Walnut Point Farm," what is that? Q 3 That's the house. Α Okay. And when Mr. Das says, "The chair of our 4 5 financial committee, Jay Shah, CEO of Hersha Hospitality 6 Trust," do you know who that is? 7 No. I had not met him before this. Α When you did meet him, how did you know him? What did 8 9 you meet him as?
  - A As the chair. I mean every campaign -- I felt this to be positive, right, we need a robust finance committee of high-worth people to -- they're there to help you raise -- identify where to raise the money from.
- MR. GALLAGHER: You can take this off, please, and let me show you Exhibit 160.
- 16 (Exhibit published to the jury.)
- 17 Q Do you recognize this, Mr. Ferson?
- 18 A I believe so.

10

11

12

- MR. GALLAGHER: Go to the next page, please.
- 20 Q What do you recognize this to be?
- 21 A This is a different time of year, but I believe that's 22 the house.
- MR. GALLAGHER: You can take that off, please.
- Q So after this meeting, what was your impression about the direction of the campaign after leaving this meeting?

1 MR. KENDALL: Objection. 2 I'll rephrase, your Honor. MR. GALLAGHER: 3 What happened after this meeting? Q I felt good leaving the meeting, that, you know, this 4 Α 5 was my first glimpse into his finance committee. It looked 6 good to me. I don't have -- I don't know any of the names 7 on the finance committee, but having a finance committee is a good idea. And if we could get the candidate to be 8 9 disciplined about what they needed to do, then we could get 10 the campaign back on track. 11 You mentioned that you then had a meeting with Mr. Das, 12 Mr. Chaudhuri at the hotel, the Stonehedge Hotel? 13 Α Yes. 14 Tell us what happened during that meeting. 15 I went there again hopeful that we would have a 16 conversation. There were other issues to the campaign, 17 relationship with the campaign manager, et cetera, and some 18 other things that -- but Job 1 is getting the fundraising in 19 place. And I felt we were going to have a meeting about how 20 to proceed forward with that. At this point I think Toby -- Mr. Chaudhuri played 21 a very critical role on the campaign because of his 2.2

a very critical role on the campaign because of his relationship with the candidate. So I felt good that the both of them were going to be there.

23

24

25

But at the end what happened in the meeting made me

```
1
       decide that we were no longer a fit with the campaign.
 2
           So after that meeting, Mr. Ferson, did you, exit, you
 3
       and your company, exit the campaign?
           Yes.
 4
       Α
 5
           And I would like to ask you, Mr. Ferson, the statement
 6
       of work, how much were you charging the Das for Congress
 7
       campaign for your service?
           It was $10,000 a month.
 8
       Α
 9
           How did you come up with that number, $10,000 a month?
       Q
10
           It's what I've charged other campaigns.
       Α
11
           Was that negotiated with Mr. Das?
       Q
12
           Negotiated in that I said that that's what I charge.
       Α
13
       Q
           Okay.
14
                MR. GALLAGHER: If I could have a second, your
15
       Honor.
16
            (Pause in proceedings.)
17
                MR. GALLAGHER: I have nothing further, your Honor.
18
                THE COURT: Mr. Kendall.
19
                MR. KENDALL: Thank you, your Honor.
20
                             CROSS-EXAMINATION
       BY MR. KENDALL
21
2.2
           Good afternoon, Mr. Ferson.
           Good afternoon.
23
       Α
24
           We never net. My name is Mike Kendall. Is that
       correct, we've never met?
25
```

- 1 A I don't believe so.
- 2 Q You met with the government though several times,
- 3 | haven't you?
- 4 A Yes.
- 5 Q I have FBI reports showing interviews in 2020 and 2021.
- 6 Do you remember both those interviews?
- 7 A I believe I do, yes.
- 8 Q The first and second we can just say.
- 9 A Yes.
- 10 Q And since then how many other meetings have you had with
- 11 the government?
- 12 A Two.
- 13 Q When were they?
- 14 A They were recent.
- 15 | Q Roughly how long did each of these four meetings go?
- 16 A An hour.
- 17 | Q Now, when you were testifying with Mr. Gallagher's
- 18 questions, you were discussing how you explained to Mr. Das
- 19 the importance of how much money you raise. Do you remember
- 20 that testimony?
- 21 A Yes.
- 22 | Q It would be fair to say that's one of the most obvious
- 23 things you talk about with a candidate, how much money you
- have to raise, correct?
- 25 A Correct.

1 And you explained it's a barometer of whether people 2 take you seriously even if it's not a fair judgment, 3 correct? Correct. 4 Α 5 Now, if I were -- but then he also asked you, sometimes 6 in the same questions about fundraising, did you discuss 7 cash on hand with Mr. Das. Do you remember him asking you that? I think he might have even put the two phrases 8 9 together. 10 Yes. Α 11 If I were to suggest to you in your prior interviews 12 with the government you never said you discussed cash on 13 hand, you only discussed fundraising with Mr. Das, would you 14 agree with me? 15 I don't know that I would agree with you. 16 Is it your testimony in your prior interviews in which 17 the FBI agent wrote down notes that you told the government 18 that you had actually discussed cash on hand with Mr. Das? 19 I think I was referring to a document where it mentions "cash on hand." 20 There is the press release, so let's put that aside. 21 2.2 But in general it would be fair to say you have no 23 memory of ever discussing with Mr. Das the concept of cash 24 on hand with that particular phrase?

Objection, vague.

MR. GALLAGHER:

```
THE COURT: I'm not sure I quite --
 1
 2
                MR. KENDALL: Okay.
 3
           My point being, do you agree that you don't have a
       specific memory that you actually discussed the concept of
 4
 5
       cash on hand with Mr. Das other than this press release
 6
       we'll put off for a moment?
 7
           No. We -- we -- just by the nature of it being a
       Α
       campaign, you -- cash on hand is always a number.
 8
 9
           So would you agree with me that you didn't tell that to
10
       the FBI in the two interviews they memorialized in their 302
11
       reports, correct?
12
           I don't remember that.
       Α
13
           So you have no memory of telling them in the prior
       interviews? Today you're bringing it up, correct?
14
15
                MR. GALLAGHER: Objection, vague.
16
                THE COURT: Sustained.
17
       Q
           That press release --
                MR. KENDALL: Was that Exhibit 2? I think it was.
18
19
            Could we have Exhibit 2 on the screen, please?
20
       Α
           Yes.
21
           Exhibit 2, the press release.
       Q
22
                Now, we know for the end of Q4 he had raised
23
       $425,000 approximately, about 280 in loans and about 150 in
24
       donations, rough numbers?
25
       Α
           Yes.
```

- And this is issued 16 days after the end of the quarter. 1 Q 2 Now, this is drafted by your office, correct? 3 Correct. Α That \$550,000 number was typed by somebody in your 4 5 office, correct? 6 Correct. Α 7 Do you know who did it? Q I'm assuming Molly Horan, who wrote the press release. 8 Α 9 Now, if he raised 424 in Q4, we know there was nothing 10 before Q4 being raised because that's the start of his 11 campaign, correct? 12 No, I don't that to be true --Α 13 Sure. He made his announcement September 25, and he started raising money after that. This is his first -- Q4 14 15 is his first filing with the FEC, with the FEC 3 form, for his money raised, correct? 16 17 Α Yes. 18 So his first time out reporting he reports up through 19 December 31 he's raised 425. Your office puts out a cash on 20 hand number in a press release of 550. Do you agree with 21 me? 22 I'm reading it, yes. Α 23 It's either they raised \$125,000 in the first 16 days of
- January or somebody from your office typed an incorrect
  number for cash on hand, correct?

- 1 A I don't know that it's an incorrect number.
- 2 | Q You think they raised 125 -- you just told us he wasn't
- 3 doing call time. He wasn't doing a good job fundraising.
- 4 You think he raised \$125,000 in 16 days?
- 5 A I'm just telling you I don't know that.
- 6 Q You don't know that. And certainly nobody verified it,
- 7 correct? That number just somehow ended up in a press
- 8 release.
- 9 MR. GALLAGHER: Objection, argumentative.
- 10 THE COURT: Sustained.
- 11 Q You said it's your practice to run press releases by
- 12 your candidates, correct?
- 13 A Yes.
- 14 Q But you have no memory of ever discussing this with
- 15 | Mr. Das?
- 16 A No. Other than to make sure that the information was
- 17 | correct.
- 18 Q Well, did you -- do you remember you had a conversation
- with him, "Did you raise \$125,000 in the last 16 days"?
- 20 MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. Asked and answered.
- 21 THE COURT: Overruled.
- 22 A I would have had the conversation with Molly Horan.
- 23 Q You would have had. You don't remember it. You're
- 24 assuming you did.
- 25 A That was from five years ago.

- Q I agree with you. It's a long time ago.
  So you don't have a specific memory. You're
- 4 A Well, that's my practice.
- 5 Q That's your practice. So you're agreeing with me.

assuming you probably did, but you really don't know?

- 6 You're assuming you did, but you really don't know?
- 7 A Correct.

- Q And the same thing about your conversations with Mr. Das and cash on hand. You're assuming you did, but really can't recall a specific conversation, can you?
- 11 A So, to be clear --
- 12 Q Just if you can answer my question, yes or no? Can you recall a specific conversation?
- 14 A I can't recall, no.
- 15 Q Thank you.
- Now, I want to go back to your first meetings -oh, the other thing is Mr. Gallagher asked you about in-kind
  contributions. Do you remember that?
- 19 A Yes.
- 20 Q You expressed a little skepticism?
- 21 A Hm-hmm.
- 22 Q In-kind contributions can come from the candidate,
- 23 correct?
- 24 A I don't know how that would work.
- 25 Q Candidate uses his credit card or her credit card to pay

1 for various things for the campaign. That's an in-kind 2 contribution from the candidate. 3 I'm not familiar enough with the rules to -- if that had been raised, to say that. 4 So you're not familiar with the FEC rule that discusses 5 6 candidates making these in-kind contributions --7 MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. -- is that what you're testifying? 8 Q 9 MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. 10 THE COURT: You can't object before I hear the 11 question. You may know what Mr. Kendall is going to ask, 12 but I've got to hear it first. 13 Let's try again. 14 Are you aware that the FEC actually publishes rules 15 about in-kind contributions from candidates? 16 I'm sure they do. Α 17 You're sure they do, but you haven't read it. 18 Α No. 19 So when you're expressing skepticism about his 20 statements of in-kind contributions, are you assuming that -- well, strike that. 21 2.2 You're expressing skepticism about in-kind contributions. You're assuming they're not contributions 23 from him? 24 25 Α My skepticism about in-kind --

1 Q Excuse me. Just answer my question. 2 MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. 3 You're assuming the contributions are not from him? Q MR. GALLAGHER: Your Honor, I object to Mr. Kendall 4 5 interrupting the witness when he's trying to answer. 6 THE COURT: It's fair enough for him to ask for an 7 answer to his question. The witness is doing his best. Let's go on. 8 9 Could you just tell me, yes or no, are you assuming 10 those contributions were not from the candidate? 11 A Yeah, I am. Yes. 12 Thank you. Q 13 Now I want to go back to your initial meeting with 14 Mr. Das. 15 You met with him back sometime in the fall of 2017? 16 Α Correct. 17 Now, you've worked with a lot of campaigns, just to 18 state the obvious, correct? 19 Α Yes. 20 You worked with a lot of first-time candidates, correct? 21 Α Yes. Do you agree with me in terms of running a successful 22 Q political campaign experience matters? 23 24 Maybe. Α

Isn't that why people hire you?

25

- A Well, it might be why people hire me, but there's lots
- of successful campaigns run by people who don't have
- 3 experience.
- 4 Q Are you telling us people don't need to hire consultants
- 5 | with lengthy experience?
- 6 A Maybe not.
- 7 Q But lots of them do, correct?
- 8 A Correct.
- 9 Q And lots of people think that's a successful way to run
- 10 a campaign, correct?
- 11 A Correct.
- 12 Q And would you agree with me that most congressional
- campaigns do hire consultants?
- 14 A Yes.
- 15 Q And they have consultants who specialize in various
- 16 things, correct?
- 17 | A Yes.
- 18 Q You told us you were a press person. Eric is the
- 19 fundraising person?
- 20 A Hm-hmm.
- 21 Q When Mr. Das and Mr. Chaudhuri visited you back in the
- 22 | fall of 2017, one of the things you talked about was your
- 23 experience and skill in advising first-time candidates,
- 24 | correct?
- 25 A Probably, yes.

1 And you cited the very impressive campaign of Seth 2 Moulton first time out is the type of things you could help a candidate accomplish as a first-time candidate? 3 It's a fact that I had helped Seth Moulton, yes. 4 Α 5 It was a great campaign, correct? Q 6 Α It was. 7 0 Don't be modest. I mean it was very successful, very effective for a 8 9 first-time candidate, correct? 10 Correct. Α 11 And one of the things you told them was you could 12 actually create the whole organizational structure for a 13 campaign, and you cited the Moulton one as an example you've 14 done for a first-time candidate. 15 Α Yes. 16 And they hired you to be the general consultant, 17 correct? 18 Α Yes. 19 Molly was doing -- Molly Horan was doing the press day 20 to day, correct? 21 Α Yes. 22 About how much of her time was spent on the campaign? 0 23 I don't know. Campaigns take time, so -- but I didn't. Α 24 We don't track it that way.

And then Eric Chast was doing the fundraising?

25

```
1
       Α
           Yes.
 2
           And would you agree -- were you aware at the time that
       Eric had never done any fundraising as a finance directer on
 3
       a federal campaign?
 4
           He's a fundraiser.
 5
           As a finance director.
 6
 7
       Α
           I don't know that.
           Are you aware that he had never done any FEC reporting
 8
 9
       before?
10
           No.
       Α
11
           Of course you're aware he was doing that for the Das
12
       campaign, correct?
13
           I don't know that actually.
14
           You don't?
       Q
15
       Α
           No.
16
                MR. KENDALL: Could we have G-26, please.
17
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
18
           So Eric worked on that campaign starting from mid
19
       November to mid May about -- is that six months, if I
20
       counted correctly? Does that seem close to you?
           That sounds right.
21
       Α
22
           And do you see where it --
       0
23
                MR. KENDALL: Excuse me. I'm going to have to look
24
       over your screen.
```

Do you see in the middle where he says, "Hey Beej, I do

25

1 these for you." 2 He's referring to the FEC reports. 3 I see that. Α Until you saw that memo, did you realize he was filing 4 the FEC reports for the Das campaign? 5 6 I didn't realize he was filing them. I know they were 7 being filed. Did you realize he was completing them and submitting 8 9 them? 10 No. He was in charge of fundraising. Α 11 And so is he doing this as a side gig? 12 No. The filing is part of the fundraising. Someone has 13 to do it. Filing the FEC 3 reports are a part of his fundraising 14 15 responsibilities. Are you aware that he had never done that 16 before in a federal campaign? 17 I don't know that -- what campaigns he worked on before 18 he -- I don't know specifically what campaigns he worked on 19 before he joined with me. 20 So when you gave the Das campaign the pitch, We can set up the first-time candidate and do everything for you, you 21 didn't realize that your fundraising person had never done 22 any of these responsibilities at the federal level before? 23

Q Was he a fundraiser before for federal congressional

He was a fundraiser.

24

25

Α

- 1 campaigns? 2 I don't know what campaigns he worked on. You hired him. You didn't know his background before 3 Q you hired him? 4 5 Well, I did at that time. Well, he still works for you now, doesn't he? 6 7 I don't look at his resume every day. So when you were pitching him out to candidates, you 8 9 didn't know what his capabilities were? You were just in 10 sell mode? 11 That's incorrect. Α 12 Well, you didn't know what his experience was at the 13 federal level, correct? 14 Correct. Α 15 And this was a federal campaign. 16 Α (No response.) 17 Did he ever -- did Mr. Chast ever come and ask you for 18 any guidance or help in doing his FEC work on the Das 19 campaign?
- 20 A No.
- 21 Q Did you ever make any attempt to supervise him in his
- 22 | work?
- 23 A We spent a lot of time on -- talking about call time.
- Q Did you talk to him about the FEC 3 filings and how that
- was going, and was he in control of it, or did he need help?

- A FEC 3?

  2 Yes, the form. It's called an FEC-3 form.
- 3 A No.
- Q The quarterly forms. You never discussed any of that with him?
- 6 A Just for the press release.
- 7 Q So he was on his own for that; is that fair to say?
- 8 A Well, working with whoever was on the finance team in 9 the fundraising.
- 10 Q But nobody else from your department, nobody else from
  11 Liberty Square, correct?
- 12 A No, correct.
- MR. KENDALL: Could we have Exhibit I-770, and if
  we could show that to the witness, and can we give a copy,
  please, to the government.
- 16 Q Do you recognize I-770?
- 17 A I can't see it.
- MR. GALLAGHER: I can't see it, counsel. Do you have a copy?
- MR. KENDALL: I hope we do.
- I'm happy to show you mine, but I need it back.
- 22 Q Do you recognize this?
- 23 A It appears to be from our website.
- Q It's from your website, correct. And it describes the services you provide in campaign management, correct?

```
1
       Α
           Yes.
 2
                MR. KENDALL: I would like to offer this into
 3
       evidence, your Honor, as our next exhibit.
                THE COURT: What would be the next number?
 4
 5
                THE CLERK: One hundred sixty-one.
 6
                MR. GALLAGHER: No objection, your Honor.
 7
                (Defendant's Exhibit No. 161 received in evidence.)
                A JUROR: We don't see it.
 8
 9
                THE CLERK: You shouldn't until now.
10
                THE COURT: Generally, until I admit it, it won't
11
       show on the screen. So you can put it up now so the jurors
12
       can see it.
13
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
14
           So this is on your website what you advertise to
15
       prospective candidates, right?
16
       Α
           Yes.
17
           And this is why they should hire Liberty Square Group,
18
       correct?
19
           One of the reasons.
       Α
20
       Q
          Excuse me?
21
       Α
           One of the reasons.
22
       Q
           Okay.
23
                If we go to the third category there, it says,
24
       "Compliance. Campaigns push candidates to the extremes of
25
       physical and mental exhaustion."
```

1 That's a true statement, isn't it? 2 Α It is. "The only thing a candidate should worry about is how 3 many voters they've talked to in a day. Liberty Square 4 Group will get your paperwork filed, set up your banking and 5 6 compliance, walk you through the dos and don'ts of campaign 7 finances, and file reports on your behalf." That's what it says, correct? 8 9 Correct. Α 10 And that's part of the services you told Mr. Das that 11 you would provide, correct? 12 I don't know that that's in our statement of work, but 13 that's on our website. 14 And if Mr. Chast was doing the FEC filings even without 15 your knowledge, that's what he is supposed to be providing, 16 correct? 17 Well, Mr. Chast does filings. He does them for 18 campaigns we have now for candidates. 19 But I'm talking back six years ago. Q 20 Α Right. That's what he should have been doing back six years 21 22 ago? 23 Well, he was in charge of fundraising. Α 24 Well, he's also filing FEC 3 forms, correct? Q Which is a part of what he needs to do --

25

Α

```
1
           Part of fundraising --
       Q
 2
           -- in his --
       Α
 3
                MR. GALLAGHER: I just want to object. The witness
       is trying to finish his answer.
 4
 5
                MR. KENDALL: I'm sorry, your Honor.
 6
                THE COURT: Yes, let the witness finish.
 7
                MR. KENDALL: I apologize for my manners.
           Please go ahead and finish your answer.
 8
 9
           The filing is part of what you need to do when you're
10
       raising money.
11
           Yes. You have to have some compliance steps as part of
12
       your filing, correct?
13
       Α
           Yes.
14
           "Campaigns push candidates to the extremes of physical
15
       and mental exhaustion."
16
                You thought Mr. Das was too distracted from the
17
       campaign by his businesses, correct?
18
           I don't know what he was distracted by.
       Α
19
           Did you get a sense at some point that the businesses
20
       were having issues?
           My sense was I don't know anything about Mr. Das'
21
       business. It's not something I've ever been involved in.
22
23
       But I'm not surprised that it's complicated and there's a
24
       lot of moving parts.
```

Would you agree with me if a person tries to run a

25

1 complicated business and run for Congress in a crowded field 2 at the same time, that's very demanding and pushing someone 3 to the extreme, correct? It's demanding, yeah. 4 Α As far as you're concerned, being a candidate for 5 6 congress should be a full-time job, correct? 7 Every candidate I have is -- has, you know, families. It's a complicated life. It's not always -- there's very 8 9 few people who are just laser-focused and only do 10 campaigning. 11 But a lot of people in this room have lives and a 12 full-time job, correct? 13 Correct. Α But running for Congress, it's not something you should 14 15 do as a part-time job. It's a full-time commitment? 16 As I mentioned, the fundraising is a full-time job when 17 you're a new candidate. 18 Now, when you were having this meeting with Mr. Das and 19 Mr. Chaudhuri, you had the impression that Mr. Chaudhuri was 20 his principal adviser, correct? 21 Yes. Α And did you notice in the meeting that Mr. Das would 2.2 23 look to him and sort of defer to his judgment or wait to 24 hear his comments?

I don't know if I remember that. I remember they had a

25

Α

```
1
       very easy working relationship.
 2
           And you viewed him as his chief adviser, his principal
 3
       adviser, correct?
           Yes.
 4
       Α
           His closest confidant?
 5
       0
 6
       Α
           Yes.
 7
           And Mr. Chaudhuri would travel to Massachusetts
       0
       frequently from D.C.?
 8
 9
           Yes, that's my understanding.
10
           When you thought the campaign was disfunctional and
11
       wanted to implement change, you went to Mr. Chaudhuri hoping
12
       he would have Mr. Das' ear?
13
       Α
           Yes.
14
           Would you agree with me Mr. Chaudhuri was actually
15
       actively involved in trying to get the fundraising going?
16
       Α
           I don't know that.
17
                MR. KENDALL: Can we take a look at I-133.
18
            And this is -- the government produced the document,
19
       your Honor.
20
           Is this an email that you exchanged with Mr. Chaudhuri?
           It says "from Toby," but it says, Hi, Scott -- no, I get
21
22
       it. Sorry.
           From Toby to you, correct?
23
       0
24
       Α
           Yes.
```

MR. KENDALL: Your Honor, I would like to mark that

```
1
       as the next exhibit, please.
 2
                MR. GALLAGHER: No objection.
                (Defendant's Exhibit No. 162 received in evidence.)
 3
                MR. KENDALL: Can we show it to the jury, please.
 4
 5
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
           If you can see that, it's December 13, 2017. So that's
 6
 7
       in the middle -- this is the middle of December in Q4, the
       last month of Q4, correct?
 8
 9
           Yes.
       Α
10
           And Chaudhuri is writing to you, "We need to drastically
       ramp-up our fundraising machine, " correct?
11
12
           Yes.
       Α
           And he raises to you call-time, fundraising tactics, and
13
       other things they need to be doing.
14
15
       Α
           Yes.
16
           Would you agree with me Mr. Chaudhuri seemed to be
17
       involved in many of the important issues in the campaign,
18
       correct?
19
           He, from my observation, was, yes.
       Α
           Staffing?
20
       Q
21
       Α
           (No response.)
22
           Hiring the campaign manager?
           Again, Mr. Das came with a campaign manager, so I don't
23
24
       know about that.
25
       Q
           So you didn't see that when it happened.
```

1 Certainly fundraising he was involved in, the 2 liaison to the Indian community around the United States. It's my understanding -- I don't know how hands-on that 3 was or if it was a higher level, you know, but certainly 4 5 interested in it. And you discussed fundraising goals with Mr. Chaudhuri, 6 7 correct? Well, we were all clear about what we felt the target 8 9 number had to be, yes. 10 You, based upon your experience in trying to be, you 11 know, pretty objective about it, thought 1.5 to 1.7 was sort 12 of the range you had to come in at to have a chance at 13 winning the campaign? 14 Α Yes. 15 In fact, the numbers were much higher in this campaign, 16 weren't they? 17 Right, but those don't always translate into a winning 18 campaign. 19 But in this case, number one and two both had much 20 higher numbers, correct? I was focused on Mr. Koh's money because he was leading 21 the charge. I don't know what Congresswoman Trahan was. 2.2 Let's talk about the race for a little bit. 23 0 24 If we want to put aside political views and political policy issues, if we just look at politics like a 25

```
sport, this was a great race, wasn't it?
 1
 2
           I'm not sure what you mean by that.
         You had Daniel Koh, who was a closely allied with the
 3
       Q
       mayor of Boston and his former chief of staff, a bright,
 4
       politically experienced guy, who raised over $3 million,
 5
 6
       correct?
 7
                MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. Relevance.
                THE COURT: Sustained.
 8
 9
           The point I want to make is, there were a lot of people
10
       there with a lot more opportunities to have a chance of
11
       winning than Mr. Das, correct?
12
           I'm -- I don't know what you're -- I don't know what you
13
       mean by that.
14
           Mr. Koh, he had the backing of the mayor of Boston,
15
       correct?
16
                MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. Relevance.
17
                THE COURT: Sustained.
18
           A lot of the candidates in that race had more political
19
       experience, better networks to raise money, better
20
       connections in labor unions and political organizations than
21
       Mr. Das, correct?
2.2
                MR. GALLAGHER: Objection.
23
                THE COURT: I'll allow that one.
24
           I don't know that to be true.
       Α
25
       Q
           Well, you certainly know that's true of Dan Koh.
```

1 Α No, I don't. 2 Dan Koh raised over \$3 million, didn't he? Q 3 Α That's a fact. Mr. Das on paper looks as impressive as Dan Koh to 4 5 me. 6 Dan Koh had the support of the mayor of Boston? Q 7 MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. THE COURT: Yeah. I don't see what this has to do 8 9 with this case. 10 MR. KENDALL: Your Honor, if I may have a few 11 questions. It's actually an important issue for us. 12 THE COURT: Can we get to the point? 13 MR. KENDALL: Okay. 14 The point I want to make is it was pretty clear that 15 Mr. Das didn't have a chance in this campaign because he 16 wasn't raising money and other people were raising lots of 17 money and had lots of political support. 18 Α I don't believe that to be true. 19 So you don't believe that the support of the mayor of 20 Boston --21 MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. 22 THE COURT: Sustained. So even though people were raising 3, 4 million dollars, 23 24 getting labor unions and established political figures to

throw their support behind them, you think that really

```
1
       didn't make much of a difference.
 2
                MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. Asked and answered.
 3
                THE COURT: I think the point is that the campaign
       just didn't do very well.
 4
 5
           The campaign didn't do very well in very strong
 6
       competition.
 7
           I don't agree with that.
           You don't think that Dan Koh was strong competition with
 8
 9
       over $3 million and labor unions?
10
           I have a long history of working on campaigns. Seth
11
       Moulton was 56 points behind John Tierney who had every
12
       institutional player in his corner. So I don't think at the
13
       start that Mr. Das was at a disadvantage in that raise.
14
           But would you agree with me if someone had raised
15
       millions of dollars and had established political
16
       organizations behind them, it's very helpful?
17
           No, I don't agree with that.
       Α
18
           Okay --
       0
19
       Α
           Dan Koh lost.
20
       Q
           Dan Koh lost by 145 votes?
21
       Α
           Right.
2.2
           Lori Trahan had worked for the prior Congressman Marty
       Meehan for years and had a great political network, right?
23
24
                MR. GALLAGHER: Objection to this line of
       questioning.
25
```

1 THE COURT: Yes, we are getting off. 2 The point being -- in April there was a debate, I think sponsored at the University of Lowell, and Mr. Das was not 3 allowed to participate in the main debate. Do you remember 4 5 that? 6 When was this? Α 7 In April. Q I do remember that, yes. 8 Α 9 What happened was they divided the candidates into two 10 tiers, those that either had done high in polls or had some 11 other criteria could go to the main debate, that's like five 12 or six, and the rest were not allowed to participate, 13 correct? 14 I don't remember the split, but, yes. 15 And this came out shortly after the poll from Barbara 16 L'Italien that Mr. Gallagher asked you about. That was in 17 March. This was in April, correct? 18 Α Yes. 19 And everybody who didn't -- Mr. Das was one of the 20 people that didn't make the main debate, correct? 21 Correct. Α And the sort of phrase people used for those that were 22 Q 23 put in the second group, not the first, was, They were sent

25 A I don't remember who said that.

to the kiddie's table. Do you remember that?

- 1 But do you remember that was a phrase used, the 2 "kiddie's table"? 3 Perhaps. Α And it meant that people weren't taking their campaigns 4 5 very seriously, correct? That is correct. 6 Yes. 7 And it would be fair to say that to be put in the kiddie's table in the campaign is a tremendous impediment to 8 9 overcome? 10 Α I would agree with you on that it was not a very well 11 run campaign. That's different. 12 0 Yeah. 13 So if you've got a poorly run campaign and it's 14 recognized and it's accurately classified as belonging at 15 the kiddie's table, it is a campaign that looks like it's 16 not going to win, correct? 17 Unless it raises money very quickly. 18 But you just told us that money isn't everything, that 19 Dan Koh's money wasn't everything and Lori Trahan's money 20 wasn't everything. You don't need \$3 million. You do need 1.5 to 1.7 21 2.2 million dollars. I firmly believe that. And I've run
- 24 Q Sure.

campaigns --

23

25 A -- where they've raised that money and have won.

```
1
           And if he could have raised that, he might have had a
       Q
 2
       chance, is what you're saying?
 3
       Α
           Yes.
           But instead he didn't raise it, and by March or April he
 4
 5
       was publicly recognized as being at the a kiddie's table,
 6
       correct?
 7
       Α
           Yes.
                MR. KENDALL: Your Honor, if I may have one moment
 8
 9
       to confer, please?
10
                THE COURT: You may, of course.
11
            (Pause in proceedings.)
12
                MR. KENDALL: Your Honor, I just need to check my
13
       notes, and I'll be done in a moment.
14
            (Pause in proceedings.)
15
       Q
           You know, what happened was you ended work in the
16
       campaign in May; is that correct?
17
       Α
           I believe so.
18
           You had a conversation with Mr. Das and Mr. Chaudhuri
19
       where they told you they loved Molly Horan, they thought she
20
       did great work, but they were unhappy with Eric Chast as the
       fundraiser, correct?
21
           I don't remember that specifically.
22
       Α
23
           And they told you they wanted to cut your fee from
24
       10,000 to a smaller amount and use Molly Horan but not use
       Eric Chast, correct?
25
```

1 I don't remember that at all. Α 2 And in mid May, that's when your relationship -- working in the campaign ended, correct? 3 It ended in whatever -- yeah, mid May or whatever day. 4 Α 5 But not after that conversation. I don't remember 6 that conversation. It ended on May 18, May 19, wasn't that the -- May 18 7 was the meeting at the Stonehedge, and then the next day the 8 9 relationship was formally ended? 10 If that's what you're saying. Α 11 (Pause in proceedings.) 12 MR. KENDALL: That's all I have for the moment, 13 your Honor. Thank you. 14 THE COURT: Any need for redirect, Mr. Gallagher? 15 MR. GALLAGHER: Just a couple, your Honor. 16 REDIRECT EXAMINATION 17 BY MR. GALLAGHER 18 Mr. Ferson, did you leave the campaign, or did Mr. Das 19 fire you from the campaign? 20 Α I left the campaign. 21 For what reason? 0 I've worked on dysfunctional campaigns before. I worked 22 Α on dysfunctional campaigns up to election day before. 23 24 thought we had had a good meeting in Maryland. The meeting is Stonehedge was not a good meeting. They, in fact, 25

- 1 mimmicked the campaign manager. 2
  - You didn't like that?
    - Α I didn't like that.
- Based upon that you left? 4
- 5 Α Based upon that.

- We had had a drink. I thought it was going to be a 6 7 nice meeting, and I threw down a \$20 bill and left the hotel. 8
- 9 You asked -- Mr. Kendall asked you about fundraising 10 versus compliance. Do you recall those questions?
- 11 (Witness nods.) Α
- 12 Can you explain to the jury what the difference is.
- 13 So when you're the general consultant and you're hired 14 to do different things, there's a lot of components in 15 communications. I'm very familiar with all those
- 16 components, dealing with the press, putting out press
- 17 releases, messaging, all of that.
- 18 Fundraising, in a category and a proposal like that 19 also, encompasses a lot of things, a lot of which are done 20 by the person who's the fundraiser, and others that are done
- 21 by professionals who do that.
- 2.2 In your prior campaigns you had worked on, have there Q 23 been treasurers involved in the campaign?
- 24 Α Yes. You have to, yes.
- 25 Q Why is it that you have to have a treasurer?

1 It's the first thing -- the first thing you do to set up Α 2 a campaign committee. You have to have a treasurer. 3 And typically what does a treasurer do? A treasurer is responsible for the veracity of the 4 filings. 5 6 Do you know whether or not the Das for Congress campaign 7 actually had a treasurer? I think -- it was my assumption that you have to, that 8 9 it did, yes. 10 Did you ever talk to that person? 11 Α No. 12 When making phones calls, in your experience, 13 Mr. Ferson, who is the person who is the best person to make 14 the phone calls to solicit contributions? 15 Α The candidate. 16 Why is that? Q 17 Because you're writing a check, a very large check, to 18 the candidate. You want to talk to the candidate. 19 MR. GALLAGHER: That's all I have, your Honor. 20 THE COURT: Anything, Mr. Kendall? 21 MR. KENDALL: A little bit, your Honor. 22 THE COURT: All right. 23 **RECROSS-EXAMINATION** 24 BY MR. KENDALL 25 You're familiar with the role of a treasurer in a Q

1 campaign, correct? 2 I'm not familiar with the role of a treasurer other than 3 you need one. So you're familiar that the role exists --4 5 Α Yes. 6 Q -- correct? 7 Correct. Α Are you familiar with what's the qualifications to be a 8 9 treasurer? 10 No. Α 11 If I were to suggest to you there are no qualifications, Q 12 anybody could be a treasurer, would you agree? 13 I would agree that based on my experience I wouldn't --14 that sounds right. 15 Would you also agree that it's a common practice, 16 endorsed on the FEC website, that the treasurer doesn't have 17 to have any political experience at all, they just hire a 18 professional staff to help them? 19 Α It often doesn't. 20 Q Excuse me? Often doesn't have political experience. 21 Α 22 And they hire someone to support them in that, correct? Q 23 It might be a CPA, right. Α 24 Or it might be Eric Chast? Q

I don't know if he's ever been.

25

Α

```
1
           He certainly sent an email to Mr. Das saying, "I do this
       Q
 2
       for you," correct?
                MR. GALLAGHER: Objection. Misleading.
 3
                THE COURT: Well, it's not misleading. It's
 4
 5
       outside the scope of the redirect.
                MR. KENDALL: No further questions, your Honor.
 6
 7
                THE COURT: Thank you very much, Mr. Ferson, for
 8
       your testimony.
 9
                THE WITNESS: Thank you.
10
            (Witness excused.)
11
                THE COURT: Jurors, I fully intend to have you out
12
       by four. Does anyone need a break now? Can we make it to
13
       four o'clock? Are you comfortable?
14
            (Jurors nod affirmatively.)
15
                THE COURT: Okay. Next witness then.
16
                MS. WAN: Your Honor, the government calls Eric
17
       Chast.
18
            (Pause in proceedings.)
19
                THE CLERK: Please raise your right hand.
20
                            ERIC CHAST, sworn
21
                THE CLERK: Thank you.
2.2
            Please be seated.
23
            Could you please introduce yourself, spelling your last
24
       name for the record?
25
                THE WITNESS: My name is Eric Chast. "Chast" is
```

1 spelled, C-H-A-S-T? 2 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. WAN 3 Good afternoon, Mr. Chast. 4 5 What do you do for work? 6 I'm the chief operating officer at Liberty Square Group. Α 7 Will you briefly describe your educational background. Sure. I have a communications and history degree from 8 Α 9 Appalachian State University, and then I have a masters in business administration from Hult International Business 10 11 School. 12 How long have you worked at Liberty Square Group? 13 I started around October 2016. Α So that's about seven years? 14 Q 15 Α Yes. 16 And tell us about the types of work that you did before 17 joining Liberty Square Group. 18 I started working on campaigns before I graduated from Α 19 my undergrad, working in field. It's like knocking on 20 doors, making phone calls to potential voters. I did that for a presidential campaign. 21 2.2 I worked in field for a few more years on different campaigns in West Virginia and Virginia and made it up to 23 24 Boston, where I did fundraising briefly before going into

the payroll department and doing more administrative work

1 for a company called Grassroots Campaigns. 2 From there, I joined the Connolly -- John Connolly's mayoral campaign. I joined that as his finance 3 director in charge of fundraising. 4 5 And from there I worked on a few more campaigns, 6 and then got to a nonprofit, educational nonprofit, for a 7 year before going back to school. And before you joined Liberty Square Group, had you ever 8 9 worked on any federal campaigns? 10 I mean, except for the field campaign, my first job, I Α 11 was an intern, nothing real, no. 12 Had you worked on state campaigns? Q 13 Α Yes. 14 Q And at Liberty Square Group, what different positions 15 did you hold? 16 I joined as voice president of fundraising and 17 investment, which is the nonprofit term for fundraising. 18 And then in 2018, when our CEO left, I became the 19 business manager, and we quickly changed that title to "COO." 20 What types of services did you provide as the directer 21 of fundraising? 2.2 23 Fundraising. So for political campaigns I would teach Α 24 the candidates how to fundraise, how to organize and make

their networks as impactful as possible for the campaign.

- Q At Liberty Square Group did you work on both state and federal campaigns?
- 3 A It wouldn't have been until -- I worked for Niki Tsongas
- for four days until she decided she was going to retire. So
- 5 I didn't really do anything for her. And then it would have
- 6 been Beej's campaign after that.
- 7 Q Now, you mentioned Mr. Das's campaign. Tell us about
- 8 the race that Mr. Das was running for.
- 9 A This is the Third Congressional District, so like the
- 10 Congressperson that traditionally is from Lowell.
- 11 Q How did you first meet Mr. Das and learn that he was
- 12 interested in running for that office?
- 13 A We interviewed several candidates from -- that were in
- 14 that race, and he was one of them that came into our office.
- 15 Q What do you remember about that meeting when Mr. Das
- 16 | came into your office?
- 17 A He seemed like the most organized of all the candidates.
- 18 No one else really came with -- with really -- more than a
- 19 staffer. But he was flanked by his campaign chair on one
- 20 side and his campaign manager on the other.
- 21 | Q What if anything did Mr. Das tell you about his
- 22 | fundraising at that point?
- 23 A He had said he had raised about \$50,000 at that point.
- 24 Q And later on -- and exactly when was this meeting, if
- 25 you remember?

- 1 A It was in the fall, that's all.
- 2 Q And you mentioned he said that he initially told you he
- 3 raised \$50,000. What did you later find out about that
- 4 | claim?
- 5 A That at the time he said it, he hadn't actually raised
- 6 any of that money.
- 7 Q And why did LSG select Mr. Das to be their candidate
- 8 | that they would work with?
- 9 A We found him the most compelling. He had a background
- 10 as a constitutional lawyer, the way he answered questions,
- 11 he was extremely thoughtful.
- 12 Q What qualities did the defendant promote when he talked
- about running for office.
- 14 A What qualities?
- 15 Yeah, I remember mostly his -- you know, his
- 16 | background, His father's story, making it here in America,
- 17 | him being an attorney, working in India for several years,
- 18 | being a -- I think it might have been a clerk for a judge,
- 19 and those sorts of things.
- 20 Q Showing you what has already been admitted as Exhibit 6,
- 21 do you recognize this email chain?
- 22 | A Yes.
- Q Who is this email chain between?
- 24 | A So this is Beej sending an email to Scott Tully, with
- Toby and me BCC'd here.

- 1 Who is Scott Tully? Q 2 He was someone who often would make a contribution to 3 the campaign. A potential donor? 4 5 Α Yes. MS. WAN: So if you could go, Ms. Comcowich, to the 6 7 second page and blow up the paragraph starting with, "I'd love to reconnect with you..." 8 9 Excuse me. I'm sorry. Could you blow up the 10 paragraph after that, "My strengths are, of course..." 11 (Exhibit published to the jury.) 12 Mr. Das [sic], does this accurately describe the types 0 13 of qualities that Mr. Das promoted when he was fundraising? 14 Yes. Yeah. Α 15 And is it true that Mr. Das touted that he was a 16 constitutional lawyer by training and clerked for a 17 prestigious judge? 18 Α Yes. 19 Let's talk about your role as -- in the Das campaign. 20 What was your title? Finance director. 21 Α 22 What does the finance director do? 0
- Q What does that entail?

Α

25 A Fundraising -- as the finance director, you're putting a

They're in charge of fundraising.

system in place. So you're not making asks of anyone directly, but you are stewarding the candidate in how to make those asks, and you're giving them a system where you can track them through call time. You can follow-up with donors and make sure that you're asking for the correct amounts and -- as much as possible.

Q How did you provide that system to a candidate?

A Well, I mean, the system itself, you start by just going through the candidate's personal contacts. So organizing based on how close you are with each group of people. Often it's your family, followed by your alumni networks, followed by your professional networks. Then prioritizing who could gift the most money.

Then you have to go from there.

So now you go back to who you are closest to and in that group who could give the most.

And you then start making calls. We call that "call time."

You often sit next to the candidate with the list, and they, as quickly as possible, go though making a hard ask.

And when a person does commit to donate, sending a follow-up right away with a "thank you," the urgency, or the hook, whether I should give now or not or in two or three weeks, as well as -- if I didn't already say this,

```
1
       apologies, but the specific amount that that person did
 2
       commit to.
           Did you ever -- during any of these call-time sessions,
 3
       did you ever make any calls to ask for donations for
 4
 5
       Mr. Das?
 6
           I did not.
       Α
 7
           Why is that?
       0
           Because it just wouldn't be as impactful. It's like, if
 8
 9
       you're running for Congress, the idea of me calling, you
10
       know, your aunt and asking would actually be
11
       counterproductive. It might actually be insulting for them.
12
       It's always most impactful coming from the person that needs
13
       to raise the money.
14
                MS. WAN: If we could pull up Exhibit 1, page 3,
15
       please, and if you could highlight the section starting
16
       "fundraising."
17
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
18
           Now, Mr. Chast, does that accurately reflect the type of
19
       services you provided to Mr. Das' campaign?
20
       Α
           Yes.
           And I notice the last bullet point says, "Ensure data
21
       integrity in NGP VAN." What does that mean?
2.2
23
           That means putting everything in NGP. If there's -- you
       Α
24
       look at your contacts or bad phone numbers, going out and
25
       finding better information.
```

- Q What is NGP VAN?
- 2 A It's the democratic database. So it's what most
- 3 democratic candidates would use to track their fundraising
- 4 potential donors and any commitments that haven't come in
- 5 yet. Those sorts of things.
- 6 O Does it also track actual donations?
- 7 A Yes.

- 8 Q And did Mr. Das' campaign use this software, NGP VAN?
- 9 A We, at least for a few months, I believe we did, yes.
- 10 Q Now, I notice that the statement of work doesn't discuss
- 11 | filings?
- 12 A Correct.
- 13 Q Did you come to prepare the FEC filings for Mr. Das'
- 14 campaign?
- 15 A I came to prepare them, yeah.
- 16 Q And how did that come about?
- 17 A Organically.
- 18 So I was there to fundraise. And at that point the
- 19 campaign manager had left. So there wasn't really anyone
- 20 else that would have been able to put together the
- 21 | spreadsheets from the database. And it just made the most
- 22 sense. It happened organically.
- 23 Q You mentioned the campaign manager had left. Who was
- 24 that campaign manager?
- 25 A His first name was Luke.

1 And we'll talk more about the FEC contributions in 0 2 moment. 3 But going back to the contributions, what were the different ways that a person could make a donation? 4 Well, they could make a donation online, or write a 5 6 check, would be the two most common. 7 And online, what system did the Das campaign use to collect online contributions? 8 9 ActBlue. Α 10 How did -- what, if anything, did you do to monitor the 11 ActBlue contributions? 12 So with ActBlue I do a few things. I could create 13 specialized contribution links. So if somebody were to 14 commit to raise money for us or if we were to have a 15 specific event, we could create a link that would track the 16 success of anyone's particular efforts, as well as have 17 access through the back end, where I could download the

- Q To track contributions; is that correct?
- 21 A Correct.

VAN.

18

19

20

Q Now, you also mentioned that contributions could come in as checks. Could you describe that process?

spreadsheet from ActBlue and then upload that back to NPG

- 24 A Sure. Absolutely.
- 25 Checks could either be mailed in, or if someone was

- 1 at an event, write them there and leave them. Yeah.
- 2 Q Who typically collected the checks?
- 3 A That would be Beej?
- 4 Q That's Mr. Das?
- 5 A Yes.
- 6 Q And what did he do with the checks after he collected
- 7 them?
- 8 A He'd put them in the bank.
- 9 Q And were you aware of whether the campaign had a bank
- 10 | account?
- 11 A Yes, it had a bank account.
- 12 | Q How did you know that the campaign had a bank account?
- 13 A Because Beej said it had a bank account.
- 14 Q Did you have any access to the campaign's bank account?
- 15 A No.
- 16 Q Did you ever ask for access to the campaign's bank
- 17 | account?
- 18 A Yes.
- 19 Q What do you remember about asking for access?
- 20 A I remember asking in person. I also remember asking
- 21 over email.
- 22 Q And do you have a specific memory about when or where or
- any details, any specific memory, of how that -- how you
- asked Mr. Das for access to the bank account?
- 25 A I mean, specifically just that it would have been at the

1 campaign headquarters that they had. 2 Beej -- often he said, yes, but if he didn't want to follow through with something --3 MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor. What he 4 didn't want is reading my client's mind. 5 6 THE COURT: Fair enough. The jury will disregard 7 the comments. What was Mr. Das' response when you asked him for access 8 9 to the bank accounts? 10 He agreed to give it to me. Α 11 And what happened next? Q 12 It didn't happen. Α 13 Why did you ask for access to the campaign's bank 14 accounts? 15 It's the best way to make sure I had everything I needed 16 to track the contributions. 17 And if you didn't having access to the bank accounts, 18 what did you do instead to track campaign contributions? 19 I would have to get anything that Beej deposited from Α 20 him directly. And what form did he give you that in? 21 It varied. I do remember his parents' contribution. He 22 Α had a -- like -- they call it a "copy" of those checks. But 23 24 otherwise it would come on a list.

So other than the ActBlue donations, which you could

25

Q

```
1
       confirm online, could you confirm any of the fundraising
 2
       amounts and the sources when Mr. Das provided those
 3
       contribution amounts to you?
           No.
 4
       Α
 5
           And who did you rely on to accurately provide
       contribution information?
 6
 7
           Beej.
       Α
           Now, Mr. Chast, are you aware that there are federal
 8
 9
       campaign contribution limits?
10
           Yes.
       Α
11
           Do you happen to remember what the contribution limits
12
       were for the 2017-to-2018 election cycle?
13
           I believe they were -- forgive me.
14
                I believe it was -- so one person could give 5,800
15
       for two campaigns. So I'm trying to divide that in half,
16
       because that's what you could give for the primary and
17
       general right now.
18
         Let me refresh your recollection.
19
                MS. WAN: If we could have Exhibit 6 at page 2,
20
       please.
21
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
2.2
           Again, this is the email with the potential donor that
23
       we just discussed.
24
                MS. WAN: If we could now highlight the paragraphs
       starting with, "I'd love to reconnect..."
25
```

1 And Mr. Chast, if you could read for us the sentence --Q 2 the two sentences beginning, "Our first..." 3 "Our first and biggest challenge right now is to get our fundraising engine on and active. That will require a 4 5 strong network of people who can write checks of \$2,700 each." 6 7 And, Mr. Chast, what's the significance of this figure of \$2,700? 8 9 That is the amount that one person can give per 10 campaign. So they can give that for the primary election 11 and then again for the general election. 12 As Mr. Das' finance director, did you talk to him about 13 campaign contribution limits? 14 Α Yes. 15 Q In what context? 16 That was important, to target the amount that we were 17 going to ask. 18 For potential donors? 19 Yeah. Yeah. You want to get the most possible, and so Α 20 knowing how much you're allowed to ask is important. 21 Now, what did Mr. Das say to you about campaign contribution limits? 2.2 23 What did he say to me? Α 24 Q I can rephrase.

When you told Mr. Das about the campaign

```
1
       contribution limits, did he indicate that he understood
 2
       that -- that there were campaign contribution limits?
 3
       Α
           Yes.
           How did he indicate that?
 4
 5
           Well, it's what we use for anything. So it's here in
 6
       email asks, and it would be what we'd ask in call time as
 7
       well.
           And you were present for those call-time sessions?
 8
 9
           Not always.
       Α
10
           Were you present for any call-time sessions when Mr. Das
11
       asked for the maximum contribution amount?
12
           Yeah.
       Α
13
           And showing you Exhibit 11.
14
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
15
       Q
           Could you please tell the jury what this document is?
16
           This is an email between Beej and Jay Shah, and it looks
17
       like I'm cc'd here as well as one other person.
18
           Who did you understand Mr. Shah to be?
       Q
19
       Α
           He was the finance chair of the campaign.
20
       Q
           And what does the finance chair do?
           It could be an honorary position. So most campaigns can
21
       create a finance committee, which is a title you can give to
22
23
       people who you believe could raise you the most money. So
24
       you put someone on the finance committee. You're hoping
25
       they're going to be able to fundraise for you later on.
```

- Q As the fundraising director, did you have significant communications with Mr. Shah?
- A I wouldn't describe it as significant. I tried reaching out.
- 5 Q Did you ever meet Mr. Shah?
- 6 A I don't recall meeting him. I -- nothing significant.
- Q Who told you that Mr. Shah was the chair of the finance committee?
- 9 A Beej did.
- Q Could you please read this section starting with "Couple
- 11 can give..."
- 12 A "Couples can give \$5,400 for the primary, and a total of
- 13 \$10,800 through the entire election cycle. To give \$10,800,
- 14 two separate contributions of \$5,400 must be made, each
- 15 under a separate name. I appreciate you circulating this to
- 16 your executive team and others."
- 17 Q I see that's followed by a link. Is that one of those
- 18 ActBlue links you just talked about?
- 19 A Yes.
- 20 Q Now, what was your initial impression of Mr. Das'
- 21 fundraising potential?
- 22 A Initially, I thought it was very good.
- 23 Q Why is that?
- 24 A Well, he had been a lawyer both at Hilton, I believe.
- 25 | It was a chain in -- that was also in India. But then also

1 he had worked for a firm here in Boston, too. So often 2 attorneys have a great number for fundraising, and that's 3 pretty exciting. What was Mr. Das supposed to do in order to raise money? 4 He was supposed to call and makes asks. 5 Α 6 And what actually happened? 7 That our call time got eaten up all the time for a ton Α of different reasons. It just didn't really come together. 8 9 How much did you expect -- as the fundraising director, 10 how much time did you expect Mr. Das to devote to call time 11 in a given week? 12 A typical race, at least two hours a day. 13 And did Mr. Das spend that time fundraising? No. I don't believe he spent that much time 14 15 fundraising. 16 What did he do during that time set aside for call time? 17 Well, I was doing staffing call time the most with him, 18 I would say in the spring, and I did it a little bit after 19 Luke left in December. In those instances, we could start 20 late. We could end early. Calls could come in, and they 21 could be something that goes on for 20 minutes. When really 2.2 in call time the goal is to stay on the list and keep it to two to three minutes. We could break for food, break for 23 24 coffee. Discovery of like, Oh, there's an event happening

in Lowell. Let's go to that instead.

1 There were lots of things happening. 2 What, if anything, did you do to address Mr. Das' behavior or his lack of discipline during the call time 3 sessions? 4 Well, I wouldn't say there's very much I could do, you 5 6 know. 7 I do remember one time in particular we talked about having an event in Maine. And he wanted to call and 8 9 book it right away. And I recommended that we get a list of 10 20 names, cull through them, and if enough people said that 11 they could give if you were to do an event in Maine, then we 12 could call, schedule it, and figure out what works best for 13 the most amount of those people. 14 We did put the list together, but we got through 15 maybe four names before he booked the event and the call 16 time was over. 17 And did that fundraiser in Maine actually occur?

A I don't remember if it actually occurred.

Q Did Mr. Das raise -- excuse me.

Did Mr. Das participate in other fundraisers?

A Yeah.

18

19

20

- 22 | Q And can you describe where those fundraisers took place.
- 23 A We tried one in New York. I believe there was one in
- D.C., and there -- we might have tried to but not actually
- 25 | put together an event out in California as well.

```
1
           How profitable were those fundraisers in terms of
       0
 2
       donations?
 3
           I don't remember them bringing in any donations.
           Did they incur costs to the campaign to put on?
 4
 5
           I -- presumably. I don't remember.
 6
           What did you observe Mr. Das doing on the day to day for
 7
       the campaign outside of call time?
           Well, outside of call time, I wasn't -- I guess I
 8
 9
       wouldn't typically be up there. So I'm not sure how to
10
       answer that. I'm sorry.
11
           I can rephrase.
       Q
12
                In the -- on days when you did see Mr. Das, did you
13
       perceive a type of image that he tried to portray on the
14
       campaign trail?
15
                MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor.
16
                THE COURT: Yeah, I don't quite understand that
17
       question.
18
                MS. WAN: I can move on, your Honor.
19
                If we can go back to Exhibit 11.
20
                     Excuse me. I'm sorry. Exhibit 8.
21
                That was my fault, Ms. Comcowich.
2.2
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
23
           Could you describe to the jury who are the senders and
24
       recipients of this email?
25
       Α
                 This is an email from Beej to Ajoy Bose. And I am
```

```
bcc'd on it.
 1
 2
           Who is Mr. Bose?
 3
           Another prospective donor.
       Α
           And what is this email discussing?
 4
           I mean -- okay. I'll take a second to read it.
 5
 6
       sorry.
 7
            (Pause in proceedings.)
           It's sort of reconnecting, offering his bio. At the
 8
 9
       bottom here also it's floating ourself to ask to also make a
10
       contribution to the campaign.
11
                MS. WAN: If we could highlight the section
12
       starting, "We are heading into the end of the year."
13
           The email discusses a 12/31 deadline. What's the
14
       significance of this 12/31 deadline?
15
           We file a report every quarter. So the amount of money
16
       that was raised by December 31 was going to be the first
17
       time all the campaigns are being compared to each other
18
       based on the fundraising numbers.
19
           Did you discuss the importance of this fundraising
       deadline with Mr. Das?
20
21
       Α
           Yeah.
           What did you tell him?
22
       0
23
           Well, that the contributions made at that time, they'd
24
       be public; so that the total amount, which is what we were
25
       trying to get as high possible, would be what people
```

- 1 reported. 2 Was there anything about this type of congressional race that would be -- that would make the fundraising total 3 particularly important? 4 Yeah. I mean, at this time I think you're not going to 5 have any sort of polling information out. So as far as what 6 7 any reporter would have to report, the only horse race information would be how much money each candidate had 8 9 raised. 10 Did Mr. Das have a specific fundraising goal for the 11 first quarter that he communicated to you? That he communicated to me? I don't remember. I do 12 13 remember us talking about a \$300,000 amount, that being what 14 some of the candidates were told they needed to raise to be 15 viable. 16 After being copied on this email -- and, by the way, 17 what's the date of this email? 18 That is December 11, 2018. Α 19 Does this email have any mention of personal loans or Mr. Das' hotel business? 20 21 It does not. Α 2.2 Does it have any mention of the defendant's mother,
- 23 Mitra Das?
- 24 A No.
- 25 Q And after being copied on this December 11, 2017 email,

```
1
       what steps did you take to encourage Mr. Das to follow-up
 2
       with Mr. Bose?
           I would have done a number of things. I would have put
 3
       it in the contribution tracker, followed-up in person. I at
 4
 5
       times did like the calendar invites. Just -- yeah.
 6
           And showing you --
       Q
 7
                MS. WAN: Ms. Comcowich, could you pull up
       Exhibit 9 and Exhibit 10.
 8
 9
            (Exhibits published to the jury.)
10
           Mr. Chast, what's shown here in previously admitted
       Exhibits 9 and 10?
11
12
           This looks likes a calendar. I am using it as a
13
       reminder.
14
       Q
           Who are you reminding?
15
       Α
           Beej.
16
           What are you reminding him of?
       Q
17
       Α
           To follow up with Ajoy.
18
           Why is that important?
       0
19
           We believe Ajoy could give the $10,800 amount between
       Α
20
       him and his spouse.
           Showing you Exhibit 12, is this an email from Mr. Bose
21
2.2
       to Mr. Das copying you?
23
       Α
           Yes.
24
           And does this discuss the contribution?
       Q
25
       Α
           That's my understanding, yeah.
```

```
1
           Now, do you remember helping Mr. Bose with his
       Q
 2
       contribution?
           I do.
 3
       Α
           What do you remember?
 4
           I connected with Ajoy over the phone and was able to
 5
 6
       take their information in order to put it through ActBlue
 7
       myself.
           Now, you mentioned the 12/31 fundraising deadline.
 8
 9
                If I could show you Exhibit 13, can you describe
10
       for the jury what this document is?
11
           This is an email from me to Beej and Deb, and it looks
       Α
12
       like I'm celebrating our success.
13
           By the way, who is Deb Belanger?
14
           She was a campaign staffer that stuck with Beej through
       Α
15
       a lot of the campaign, yeah.
16
       Q
           And what's the date on this email?
17
       Α
           12/30/2017.
           What are you telling Mr. Das and Deb about their
18
19
       fundraising totals?
20
           I'm reporting the number in NGP and celebrating it as a
       whirlwind and congratulating them.
21
22
           What was the exact fundraising total to date?
       Q
23
           So the total in NGP, $116,571.
       Α
24
           What did Mr. Das do in order to -- excuse me.
```

What did Mr. Das do in terms of fundraising in the

```
1
       last few days of 2017 to try to meet his year-end
 2
       fundraising goal?
           He kind of hunkered down by himself. I'd say he decided
 3
       he could focus better.
 4
                MR. KENDALL: Objection, your Honor. He's by
 5
       himself. I don't know if he knows what he's doing.
 6
 7
                THE COURT: Sustained.
           What did Mr. Das tell you he wanted to do in terms of
 8
 9
       fundraising for the last few days of 2017?
10
           He wanted to do it unstaffed, without me.
       Α
11
           Was that unusual?
12
           It's unusual. It's hard to keep the candidates focused
13
       when someone is not there.
14
           Do you recall how much Mr. Das eventually raised in that
15
       first quarter of fundraising?
16
       Α
           Raised -- I don't have the number.
17
                MS. WAN: I can show you Exhibit 2, please.
18
            (Exhibit published to the jury.)
19
           Do you recall that Mr. Das raised about $425,000?
       Q
20
           Yeah, that being the number combined with the amount he
21
       loaned the campaign.
           Were you involved in preparing this press release?
2.2
       Q
           I would have sent the numbers to the communications
23
24
       team.
           And who's the communications team?
25
       Q
```

A Molly and Scott.

Q Now showing you Exhibit 17, which has been previously admitted.

What is this document?

- A It's an email from Molly to me, and it looks like -okay. So it's a thread back and forth starting at the
  bottom where I'm giving her not only the amount but also
  some other information that might be helpful to her.
- Q Where did you get this information that you're providing?
  - A This would be -- so it's in January. So the amount in our database, NGP, that would be anything from ActBlue that I could have downloaded from ActBlue and then uploaded into NGP, plus any contributions that Beej deposited via check.
  - Q You write: "Total revenue over \$425K. (his loans weren't always round numbers, waiting on the totals.)"

    What do you mean by that?
- 18 A I'm waiting for Beej to tell me exactly what the loans
  19 were.
  - Q And who did you rely on to learn how much Mr. Das had loaned to the campaign?
- 22 A I relied on Beej.
- Q And where did you get the information about the cash on hand that was reflected in the press release?
- 25 A The press release amount, that I believe was also from

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

Beej. I'm trying to remember the press release. It was five-hundred-something thousand dollars. That number was from Beej. Now, how did the campaign use the information about their fundraising totals when talking to additional donors? We used it as a sign of strength for our campaign. Α And showing you Exhibit 18. Could you tell the jury generally what this document is. This is an email from Beej to Jay Shah cc'g me, and Α reporting out what we believe to be very good numbers. MS. WAN: And, Ms. Comcowich, could you blow up the first paragraph. Q And, Mr. Chast, could you read starting from the, "We hit..." "We hit the right numbers -- the press is eating it up. We announced that we raised 425,000 and have 550,000 on hands. WGBH's David Bernstein tweeted, 'Gotta pay attention to him folks' with respect to my numbers. Several of the Indian press organizations have also picked up the news. Here is a relevant clip." And, Mr. Chast, who sent this email to Mr. Shah? Α Beej. MS. WAN: Your Honor, I'm about to enter a new and substantive category of examination. Would you like me to

continue or --THE COURT: No. I think this would be a good point to suspend rather than interrupt the next train of thought. Jurors, I want to thank you for a really good day's work. I know it's been a long day. Tomorrow will be shorter. But please remember breakfast at eight or shortly thereafter will be waiting for you. And we'll get started right at nine o'clock. We will stay on time and keep this trial moving as efficiently as it did today. So with thanks to the jurors, we will be adjourned until tomorrow at 9 a.m. THE CLERK: All rise. (Proceedings adjourned.) 

1	INDEX	
2		
3	OPENING STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT.	
4	Ms Wan:	17
5	OPENING STATEMENT BY THE DEFENSE.	
6	Mr. Kendall:	35
7		
8	<u>WITNESS:</u> <u>DIRECT</u> <u>CROSS</u> <u>REDIRECT</u>	RECROSS
9	SCOTT FERSON	
10	By Mr. Gallagher 64 144	
11	By Mr. Kendall 116	146
12	ERIC CHAST	
13	By Ms. Wan 149	
14		
15	EXHIBITS	
16	DEFENDANT'S: ID.	IN EV.
17	161 LSG "Campaign Management"	131
18	162 12/13/17 email. Chaudhuri to	136
19	Ferson and Das	
20		
21		
22	* * * *	
23		
24		
25		

## $\texttt{C} \; \texttt{E} \; \texttt{R} \; \texttt{T} \; \texttt{I} \; \texttt{F} \; \texttt{I} \; \texttt{C} \; \texttt{A} \; \texttt{T} \; \texttt{E}$

I, James P. Gibbons, Official Court Reporter for the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts, do hereby certify that the foregoing pages are a true and accurate transcription of my shorthand notes taken in the aforementioned matter to the best of my skill and ability.

/s/James P. Gibbons
James P. Gibbons

February 4, 2025

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